

Horst Raabe (Hrsg.)

Trends in kontrastiver Linguistik I

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HORST RAABE (Hrsg.)

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Band I



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V o r w o r t

Die angewandte kontrastive Linguistik ist zu einem großen Teil in engem Zusammenhang zu sehen mit Arbeiten, die vor allem im Rahmen von Projekten abgewickelt werden. Und so liegt es denn nahe, Ansichten, Diskussionen und Ergebnisse zur kontrastiven Linguistik einmal so vorzustellen, daß sie auch vor dem Hintergrund von Projekten analysierbar werden.

Dies weist somit auf eine doppelte Zielrichtung dieser beiden Bände "Trends in kontrastiver Linguistik" I und II: Präsentation punktueller Ergebnisse im Bereich der angewandten kontrastiven Linguistik einerseits und Präsentation gesamthafter Projektkonzeptionen andererseits.

Während nun im vorliegenden ersten Teil der "Trends in kontrastiver Linguistik" vor allem das Zagreber kontrastive Projekt (The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian --English Contrastive Project) anhand repräsentativer Arbeiten vorgestellt werden kann, ist der zweite Teil Arbeiten aus den kontrastiven Projekten in Bukarest (The Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project) und in Posen (The Polish-English Contrastive Project) gewidmet.

Insofern hoffen wir insgesamt auch einem echten Bedürfnis nachkommen zu können, sind doch die Arbeiten aus und zu diesen Projekten, gemessen an ihrer Wichtigkeit, in unserem Raum relativ schwer zugänglich.

An dieser Stelle möchten wir auch nicht vergessen, all denen zu danken, die durch ihr Interesse, ihre Kritik und Vorschläge die beiden Bände erst ermöglichten und mit gestalten halfen.

I n h a l t

EINLEITUNG	IX
Horst Raabe INTERIMSPRACHE UND KONTRASTIVE ANALYSE	1
Rudolf Filipović THE USE OF A CORPUS IN CONTRASTIVE STUDIES	51
Vladimir Ivir GENERATIVE AND TAXONOMIC PROCEDURES IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS	67
Leonardo Spalatin APPROACH TO CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS	79
Vladimir Ivir REMARKS ON CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION	93
Jerry L. Liston FORMAL AND SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS	105
^v Željko Bujas DERIVATION IN SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH	129
Ljiljana Mihailović ON DIFFERENCES IN PRONOMINALIZATION IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN	139
Midhat Ridžanović EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES WITH LINKING VERBS IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN	151
Wayles Browne ON CONJOINED QUESTIONS AND CONJOINED RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN	161

VIII

Rudolf Filipović TESTING THE RESULTS OF CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS	179
Stanka Kranjčević ERRORS IN THE SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE IN THE SPEECH OF LEARNERS OF ENGLISH IN THE SERBO-CROATIAN-SPEAKING AREA	193
Mirjana Vilke TEACHING PROBLEMS IN PRESENTING RELATIVE PRONOUNS	215
ABKÜRZUNGEN	229

E I N L E I T U N G

Es sind nunmehr gut zehn Jahre vergangen, seit in der kontrastiven Linguistik die ersten konkreten Ergebnisse vorgelegt wurden. Hierbei denkt man vor allem an die "Contrastive Structure Series" (CSS), die, durch das "Center for Applied Linguistics" in Washington vorangetrieben, ab 1962 unter der Herausgeberschaft von Ch.A.Ferguson in den Vereinigten Staaten erschienen sind und die zum Ziele hatten, das Englische mit weiteren Welt-sprachen zu kontrastieren. Nach diesem ersten Beginn dauerte es nicht lange, bis eine Reihe anderer, europäischer Projekte, allen voran das "Projekt für angewandte kontrastive Sprachwissenschaft" (PAKS) in Deutschland unter der Herausgeberschaft von G. Nickel, gegründet wurden. Gegenwärtig scheint sich nun, gleich einer dritten Welle, die Tendenz abzuzeichnen, daß vor allem in Ländern mit weniger international verbreiteten Nationalsprachen Interesse gezeigt wird, kontrastive Projekte oder Kooperation mit kontrastiven Projekten anzustreben, um die Lehr- und Lernsituation der jeweils wichtigsten "Partnersprachen", soweit Kontrastanalysen dazu beitragen können, optimaler und damit effizienter zu gestalten.

Versucht man nun diese drei Produktionsphasen vor dem Hintergrund einer möglichst weiten Fassung von dem, was kontrastive Linguistik alles beinhalten könnte, näher zu analysieren, - indem

man mit aller Vorsicht annimmt, das kontrastiv-linguistische Geschäft habe sich zu einem nicht unerheblichen Teil im Bereich oben genannter und angedeuteter Projekte abgespielt, beziehungsweise sei im Begriff sich dort zu realisieren -, so kommt man zu folgenden, äußerst groben und vorläufigen Charakterisierungen.

In der ersten Phase, repräsentiert durch die CSS, beschränkte sich das Interesse hauptsächlich auf die Aufgabe, zwei Sprachen, und dies nur auszugsweise, in vergleichende Verbindung zu setzen, Kontraste abhebbar zu machen und sie unter Umständen noch zu bewerten. Überlegungen und Ausführungen zur späteren Anwendung erschienen, wenn überhaupt, im Anhang.

In der zweiten, noch nicht abgeschlossenen Phase, sie findet sich in den späten PAKS-Forschungsberichten angedeutet und von anderen Projekten weitergeführt, wird sowohl der Untersuchungsgegenstand als auch/oder die Methode exhaustiviert, beziehungsweise im Hinblick auf die spätere Anwendung überprüft und modifiziert, wenn nicht erweitert. Das heißt, es wird die Verwendung von Sprachenpaarkorpora überprüft, was gleichzeitig eine gesamthafte Kontrastierung zweier Sprachen implizieren kann, und es wird der Ansatz spezieller auf die spätere Sprachlern- und Sprachlehrsituation bezogener Auswahlkomponenten, Analyse-konditionierungen und sich anschließender Präsentationsverfahren erwogen. Die Kontrastanalyse sollte demnach mehr bieten als das, was - eine oft zu hörende und nicht zu überhörende Kritik - der Fremdsprachenlehrer ohnehin schon intuitiv wußte und insgeheim praktizierte.

Die dritte Phase, eine Entwicklung, die sich jetzt erst andeutet und bestenfalls am Anfang einer Realisierung steht, verdankt ihre Entstehung ohne Zweifel dem Wunsch, Idee und Früchte der Kontrastierung auch auf weitere "Sprachkontakte" zu beziehen. Das heißt: Der unbefriedigende Zustand, daß z.B. e i n e "n e u t r a l e" Sprachlehre

des Deutschen für viele deutschlernmotivierte Ausländer (z.B.: Nigerianer, Türken, Japaner, Perser u.a.m.) mithin die einzige Grundlage des Fremdsprachenunterrichts war und es noch immer ist,¹ — eine Situation übrigens, die in dieser krassen Form, aufgrund des vielfältigeren und z.T. schon intuitiv "kontrastiv" basierten Lehrmittelangebots in bezug auf die Zielsprachen Französisch, Englisch, Spanisch, Russisch, Italienisch, (bei Deutsch als Ausgangssprache), nicht besteht —, dieser unbefriedigende Zustand soll nun aufgebessert werden durch die Ergebnisse, die eine spezielle Kontrastanalyse der jeweils in Frage kommenden Sprachenpaare zu liefern im Stande ist.

Es versteht sich, daß nur auf diesem Fundament ein verbesserter, weil exakt sprachenpaarbezogener Fremdsprachenunterricht erfolgen kann. Da viele der potentiell in Frage kommenden Sprachen noch unvollständig und, gemessen am heutigen Leistungsstand der Linguistik, unzureichend beschrieben sind, steht zu erwarten, daß die Zielsetzungen in diesen Projekten primär linguistischer Natur sein müssen, was natürlich nicht eine Vernachlässigung anwendungsbezogener kontrastivlinguistischer Erkenntnisse zu beinhalten braucht.

Es kommt dieser Gliederung in drei, sich in chronologischer Abfolge befindlichen Phasen zugute, daß sich in ihr Dinge ablesen lassen wie:

- Erster Ansatz, verbunden mit leichter Überschätzung der in Anwendung gelangten Kontrastiermethode, des Untersuchungsbereichs und damit der erzielten Ergebnisse in bezug auf ihren Nutzen in der Verwendungs- und Anwendungssituation;
- einsetzende Kritik, auch aus den eigenen Reihen;
- Rezeption der Kritik;
- Neuansätze, in denen höheren linguistischen Ansprüchen Rechnung getragen wird und/oder komplexere Modelle angeboten werden, die ganz spezielle, nicht nur linguistische Gesichtspunkte der

Zweitsprachenerlernung aufnehmen, - dies vor allem an und für Sprachen, die schon den Verhältnissen entsprechend, "optimal" beschrieben sind;

- nach dieser ersten Rückkoppelung: Einsetzen einer größeren Bereitschaft zur Weiterverwendung erprobter, bewährter und verbesserter Prozeduren, vor allem im Hinblick auf effektivere und schnellere Erschließung weiterer, bisher mangelhaft erschlossener Sprachräume;
- womit notgedrungen wieder die vor allem linguistische Orientierung des ersten Ansatzes den Vorrang zu erhalten scheint.

Eines der wichtigsten Projekte jener sogenannten zweiten Phase wird nun auszugsweise in diesem ersten Sammelband, gleichsam in einer Art Zwischenbericht, vorgestellt und damit leichter einem größeren Kreis von Interessierten zugänglich gemacht werden können.

Es ist "The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian—English Contrastive Project" (YSCECP), das unter der Leitung von Rudolf Filipović, gestützt auf die Mitarbeit zahlreicher Linguisten, in Zagreb, auf einer Kooperation des dortigen "Institut za lingvistiku" und des "Center for Applied Linguistics" in Washington beruhend, seit 1968 vorangetrieben wird.

Die Charakterisierungen "the really big enterprise", "a very large and ambitious (project)"², die man in einem vor einiger Zeit erschienenen Artikel für dieses Unternehmen finden kann, kommen auch nicht von ungefähr.

Es wurde hier nämlich eine erste, bisher in der kontrastiven Linguistik noch nicht anzutreffende, einheitliche Gesamtkonzeption entworfen, die versucht, basierend auf einer Reihe methodischer und theoretischer Vorüberlegungen, nicht nur die Kontrastanalyse möglichst präzise, das heißt auch, möglichst exhaustiv zu gestalten, — man operiert mit einem für die Maschine aufbereiteten englisch-serbokroatischen Sprachenpaarkorpus —, sondern auch die Ergebnisse dieser Kontrastanalysen über

die Fehlerlinguistik in den Bereich der pädagogischen Verwertbarkeit zu überführen. Es stellt demnach ein Projekt dar, das den Forderungen nach größerem Umfang der zu kontrastierenden Bereiche, nach größerer Genauigkeit und Exhaustivität beim Sprachvergleich und nach effektiverer Ausnutzung kontrastiver Analyseergebnisse zu entsprechen versucht.

Schon hier läßt sich erkennen, daß die Diskussion in der (angewandten) kontrastiven Linguistik nicht mehr nur bei Fragen stehen bleiben braucht wie: Kontrastiv oder konfrontativ? Welches Grammatikmodell entspricht den Gegebenheiten am besten? Welches tertium comparationis bietet sich für welchen Untersuchungsgegenstand an? Wie sehen die Verhältnisse zwischen Sprachkontrasten und Lernschwierigkeiten aus? Kontaktanalyse³ oder Kontrastanalyse?, sondern daß auch mögliche Formen von Arbeitsmodellen, die Funktion der eigentlichen Kontrastanalyse in einem komplexeren Modell, Interrelationen innerhalb eines komplexen Modells, d.h. die Implikationen, die innerhalb eines solchen Modells auftreten mögen, hinterfragt werden können.

Auf eine mögliche Konsequenz dieser Fragestellung will jedenfalls unser eigener Beitrag in diesem Band zielen, der, indem er auf Probleme einzugehen versucht, die die Eingabekomponente einem angewandt kontrastlinguistischen Analysemodell aufgibt, gleichzeitig eine Verbindung schaffen möchte zwischen dem vorgestellten Zagebrer Unternehmen⁴ und anderen möglichen Wegen im Bereich der angewandten Linguistik.

Was die Auswahl der Artikel zu diesem Sammelband betrifft, so war sie geleitet von dem Gedanken, aus möglichst allen Bereichen des Projekts Beiträge von allgemeinerem Interesse vorzustellen. Insgesamt standen, im August 1973, ca. 90 Artikel zur Auswahl, die in den "A. Reports", "B. Studies" und "C. Pedagogical Materials"⁵ genannten Forschungsberichten des Projekts unter R. Filipović als Herausgeber veröffentlicht wurden.

XIV

Fast die Hälfte der hier vorgestellten Artikel werden sich mit Fragen der Methode und des Ansatzes von Kontrastanalysen auseinandersetzen. In diesem Rahmen befassen sich L. Spalatin und V. Ivir kontrovers zueinander mit der Frage, ob eine Kontrastanalyse primär auf der Basis der "translation equivalence" oder der "formal correspondence", beides Begriffe aus dem Bereich der Übersetzungstheorie, durchzuführen sei, - eine Problemstellung, auf die ebenfalls J.L. Liston in seinem Beitrag, allerdings mehr vermittelnder Natur, einzugehen sucht. R. Filipović diskutiert, nachdem er schon an anderer Stelle die Entscheidung, die eigenen Arbeiten auf dem leicht modifizierten "Standard Corpus of Present-Day English" (Brown Corpus) aufzubauen, begründet hat, die Voraussetzungen und Nutzenanwendungen, die bei dem Einsatz eines Korpus zu gegenwärtigen sind, während V. Ivir Ansichten zu der immer wieder aufgegriffenen, zugegebenermaßen heiklen Frage betreffs der Wahl des Grammatikmodells bei kontrastiven Analysen vorbringt.

Sein Vorschlag des "contrastive mix" kennt noch weitere Verfechter, wie die Arbeiten einiger Linguisten zeigen, und findet sich hier in diesem Band dokumentiert in den eigentlichen kontrastiven Studien, die aus den Bereichen der Morphologie (Ž. Bujas), der Syntax (W. Browne, M. Ridjanović) und der Wortarten (L. Mihailović) gewählt worden sind.

Für den dritten Teil dieses Projekts - kontrastive Untersuchungen und ihr Anwendungsbezug -, stehen die Ausführungen zu Methoden der Ergebnisüberprüfung von R. Filipović, der Abriß einer Magisterarbeit von S. Kranjčević, die sich konkret mit Fehleranalysen auseinandersetzt¹⁰, und der Versuch von M. Vilke, der zeigt, wie z.B. Ergebnisse aus der kontrastiven Analyse in die

Konstruktion von Lehrmaterial einfließen können.

Wie oben schon erwähnt, kann und soll dieser Sammelband in bezug auf das Zagreber Projekt nichts weiter darstellen als eine Art dokumentierten Zwischenbericht, in bezug auf die konkrete Arbeit im Bereich der kontrastiven Linguistik mag in ihm eine ganz spezifische Realisationsmöglichkeit eines komplexeren Verlaufsmodells angedeutet worden sein.

Gleichzeitig kann dieser Sammelband aber auch zu der Überlegung hinführen, ob es nicht generell positiv zu bewerten ist, wenn der kontrastive Linguist die Ergebnisse seiner Analyse nicht ungeprüft entläßt und "überläßt", sondern, gestützt auf eine erweiterte fachliche Kompetenz, sie auch im Hinblick auf die spätere Anwendung überwachend betreut.

Horst Raabe

A n m e r k u n g e n

1. Wir denken da zum Beispiel an das im übrigen verdienstvolle Buch von H. Griesbach, D. Schulz, Grammatik der deutschen Sprache, München 1965 ff, bzw. an deren Bandreihe "Deutsche Sprachlehre für Ausländer".
2. D. Shillan, "Contrastive Linguistics and the Translator", in: The Incorporated Linguist 10 (1970), S. 13.
3. Kritik an der herkömmlichen Kontrastanalyse und der Vorschlag der Kontaktanalyse finden sich bei W. Nemser; T. Slama-Cazacu, "A Contribution to Contrastive Linguistics. A Psycholinguistic Approach: Contact Analysis", in: Revue Roumaine de Linguistique 15 (1970), S. 101-128.
4. Ausführungen zur eigentlichen Organisation dieses Projektes finden sich in: R. Filipović, "The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project so Far", in: R. Filipović (Hrsg.), Zagreb Conference on English Contrastive Projects, YSCEP, B. Studies 4, 1971, S. 31-80.

5. In der Reihe "Reports" sind bisher 7 Bände erschienen, die Berichte mehr vorläufigen Charakters enthalten, die Reihe "Studies" zählt bisher 5 Bände, die Artikel enthalten, die abgeschlossene Studien widerspiegeln sollen und "Pedagogical Materials" zählt einen Band mit Fehleranalysen und Lehrmaterialien.
6. R. Filipović, "The Choice of the Corpus for a Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", in: YSCECP, B. Studies 1, 1969, S. 37-46.
7. Einzelheiten zur Anwendung des Computers in bezug auf das Übersetzungspaarkorpus und zur Anlage des Kodiersystems findet sich bei Ž. Bujas, "Concordancing as a Method in Contrastive Analysis", in: SRAZ 23 (1967), S. 49-62 und zusammenfassend bei R. Filipović, "The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian--English Contrastive Project So Far", a.a.O., S. 38-43.
8. Vgl.: N.D. Liem, Modern Linguistic Theories and Contrastive Analysis, in: G. Nickel, H. Raasch (Hrsg.) IRAL-Sonderband, Kongreßbericht der 3. Jahrestagung der GAL, Heidelberg 1972, S. 229-236.
9. Die inhaltliche Gliederung des Projekts sieht Phonologie, Morphologie, Syntax und Lexis als zu behandelnde Punkte vor, wobei gegenwärtig zu Phonologie und Lexis, bis auf Ausführungen mit bloßem Vorschlagscharakter (vgl. J.L. Liston's Beitrag in diesem Band), innerhalb des Projektes keine detaillierten Kontraststudien vorliegen.
10. Auf die Theorie der linguistisch, psycholinguistisch begründeten Systeme, die zwischen Ausgangs- und Zielsprache anzusetzen sind, auf die Verwandtschaft zwischen Generierungsmechanismen, die (akzeptable) Lehnbildungen und (nicht akzeptable) Fehler produzieren, weist R. Filipović hin in seinem Aufsatz "The Compromise System. A Link between Linguistic Borrowing and Foreign Language Learning", in: G. Nickel, A. Raasch (Hrsg.), IRAL-Sonderband, Kongreßbericht der 3. Jahrestagung der GAL, Heidelberg 1972, S. 197-206.

Horst Raabe

.INTERIMSPRACHE UND KONTRASTIVE ANALYSE

O. Die kontrastive Linguistik kann sich nicht beklagen. Noch immer steigt die Zahl der Publikationen, die sie zum Gegenstand haben, noch immer ist ihr Anteil in den Programmen aller Kongresse zur (angewandten) Linguistik im Wachsen begriffen.

So kommt es nicht von ungefähr, daß sich stetig mehr die Kritik Gehör verschafft, daß zwar noch immer kein umfassender und allgemein befriedigender theoretischer Ansatz und auch, dessen ungeachtet, noch keine gesamthafte kontrastive Darstellung von zwei Sprachen vorgelegt seien, wohl aber in Sachen Programmatik und Darstellung punktueller Kontrastphänomene der Eifer keine Grenzen kenne.

Trotzdem wollen wir es wagen, uns zu Wort zu melden. Allerdings glauben wir uns auch insofern berechtigt dazu, als der Gegenstand dieses Beitrages, - die *I n - t e r i m s p r a c h e*, die interimsprachliche *P r o - z e ß a n a l y s e* und deren Begründung -, zu einer u.E. wichtigen Unterscheidung im Bereich der "generellen angewandten kontrastiven Linguistik"¹ führt. Es wird die Unterscheidung in ein primär kontrastiv basiertes Analysemodell und ein primär "interimsprachlich" basiertes Analysemodell, oder in anderen Worten: in "desintegrative" vs. "integrative" Analysemodelle² sein.

Hierzu ist noch grundsätzlich zu bemerken, daß alle involvierten Verlaufsmodelle³ in Relation zum Fremdspracherwerb gesehen werden. Die Implikationen, die auf ihre integrative oder desintegrative Aufnahme innerhalb der komplexen Modelle untersucht werden und deren eine, der Ansatz der Interimsprache, wir hier ausführlicher behandeln wollen, ergeben sich also aus der Verbindung von Eingabekomponente, Analysekomponente und Verwendungskomponente, hier konkret dem Fremdsprachenunterricht (FU)⁴. Somit ist die Tragweite der hier vorgeschlagenen Unterscheidung auch ganz in dem Bereich zu sehen, der die "neue" kontrastive Linguistik gleichsam begründete und den diese als ihr primäres und einstig einziges Ziel erklärte, nämlich in der Optimierung des

Fremdsprachenlernens und Fremdsprachenlehrens.

Da es sich bei den beiden Modellen in mancher Hinsicht um Alternativen handelt, wird auch, mit aller Vorsicht, der Versuch der Einschätzung ihrer realen Leistungskraft unternommen werden müssen.

1. Will man sich Klarheit darüber verschaffen, auf welchen Momenten letztlich die Errichtung kontrastiver Projekte begründet war und ist, so wird man nicht an den Namen C.C. Fries und R. Lado vorbeikommen. Mit ihnen ist in der Tat in den letzten 25 Jahren die Entwicklung der "neuen" kontrastiven Linguistik, des synchronen Sprachvergleichs als Zubringer und Helfer in Blickrichtung FU, ursächlich in Verbindung zu setzen. Dem oft zitierten Fries'schen Satz

"The most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the languages to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the language of the learner. It is not enough simply to have the results of such a(n)...analysis; these results must be organized into a satisfactory system of teaching..."⁵

läßt sich die Äußerung R. Lado's

"...in the comparison between native and foreign language lies the key to ease or difficulty in foreign language learning."⁶

als weiterhin wegweisend und bezeichnend für die damalige optimistische Grundhaltung gegenüber der kontrastiven Analyse (KA) zur Seite stellen. In F. Sommer findet sich übrigens ein weitläufig mit ihnen verbindbarer Vorgänger, der 1921 folgenden Satz formulierte:

"Wenn die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft... wünscht, daß ihre Ergebnisse für den Schulunterricht nutzbar gemacht werden, so muß sie selbst die Gelegenheit dazu schaffen, indem sie den Lehrer mit Hilfsmitteln versieht, die ihm Vergleiche ermöglichen."⁷

Doch ist es vor allem ihr offen ausgesprochener Nexus: Sprachvergleich, ("comparison", später "KA" — Fremdsprachenunterricht, der in etwa neu war, der auf wachsendes Interesse stieß, viele Hoffnungen und Aktivitäten weckte und den Anfang zu dem darstellte, was sich heute als eine um viele Gebiete

und Aspekte erweiterte kontrastive Linguistik präsentiert.

2. Auf was wir nun im folgenden aufmerksam machen wollen, ist, daß sich dieser neu konstituierte Anwendungsbezug des Sprachvergleichs allzu schnell und unreflektiert in den Bereich eines schon bestehenden sprachvergleichenden Wissenschaftszweiges geflüchtet hat, anstatt kritisch zu überprüfen, was überhaupt aus dessen Fundus im Hinblick auf die neue FU-Ausrichtung übernehmbar bzw. annehmbar sein könnte.

2.1. Mit der Erwähnung von F. Sommer war schon angedeutet worden, daß es durchaus eine Tradition gab, in der die neuen, auf den FU gerichteten Kontrastivisten heimisch werden konnten, bzw. auf deren wissenschaftlichem Erbe sie glaubten nahtlos aufbauen zu können. Es war dies die Tradition der sprachwissenschaftlich begründeten synchronen Komparatistik, die ihre erste hervorragende Profilierung mit Sicherheit durch die sogenannte Prager Schule erfuhr.

Die "analytic comparison", die dort gefordert wurde, sollte vor allem zum besseren Verständnis spezieller Sprachen und der Sprache an sich führen, was durchaus mit dem vergleichbar ist, was heute immer wieder als der "heuristische Wert" jeder sprachkontrastiven Beschäftigung angesehen wird. V. Mathesius bringt dies auf folgende prägnante Formel:

"A systematic analysis of any language can be achieved only on a strictly synchronic basis and with the aid of analytical comparison i.e. comparison of languages of different types without any regard to their genetic relations. It is only in this way that we can arrive at a right understanding of the given language..."⁸

Einige Jahre später setzt B.L. Whorf, indem er als einer der ersten den Terminus "contrastive linguistics" gebraucht, diese klar von der diachronen "comparative linguistics" ab und sieht ihre Tragweite und Bedeutung, natürlich ganz vor dem Hintergrund der ihn bewegenden Fragestellungen zur Relativität natürlicher Sprachen, in folgender Sicht:

"... of even greater importance (als "comparative linguistics", der Vf.) for the future technology of thought is what might be called 'contrastive linguistics'. This plots the outstanding differences among tongues - in grammar, logic, and general analysis of experience."⁹

2.2. Mit Sicherheit könnten diese frühen Ansichten über die Funktionalität des Sprachvergleichs um einige weitere ergänzt werden.¹⁰ Für unsere Zwecke wichtiger wäre jedoch, eine Summe aller in diese Zeit hineinreichenden sprachvergleichenden Aktivitäten zu ziehen.

In gewisser Weise tut dies G.L. Trager für uns in seiner 1949 erschienenen kurzen Schrift "The Field of Linguistics", wo er u.a. den Versuch unternimmt, eine Bestandsaufnahme der "kontrastiven" Linguistik vorzuführen. Analysiert man diesen Gliederungsversuch, so ergibt sich, daß es Trager vor allem darum geht, - die Gegenstände kontrastiver Betrachtung (Soziolekte, Einzelsprachen oder Gesamtsysteme, Teilsysteme), - die Bereiche (innereinzelsprachlich/intralingual und zwischensprachlich/interlingual)¹¹ - und als dritte "Dimension" die Schnittrichtung (diachron vs. synchron) in einen größeren Zusammenhang zu überführen.

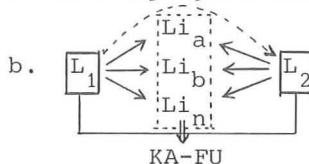
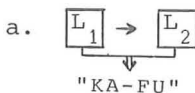
2.3. Faßt man nun die Ausführungen Tragers als Summe dessen auf, was bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt über die deskriptive kontrastive Linguistik (im Hinblick auf ihre Konzeption) gesagt werden konnte, und setzt dies in Relation zu Fries' und Lados "neuer" komparativer Linguistik, so kann man Folgendes feststellen: Auf das schon vorhandene und damit leicht verfügbare Fundament des Sprachvergleichs setzte sich ohne Ansätze der Neu- bzw. Umformulierung vorliegender Prämissen eine Phase des Anwendungsbezugs (Frie Lado). Oder: trotz der neuartigen Koppelung "Sprachvergleich - Fremdsprachenunterricht" wurde keine Änderung der "alten", rein linguistischen¹² Auffassung von Sprachvergleich vorgenommen. Oder auch: die Wirkungsweise der durch den linguistischen Sprachvergleich zu erwartenden Ergebnissen wurde in unzulässiger Weise hinsichtlich ihrer Relevanz für den FU verabsolutiert.

Um mit einem, je nach Blickrichtung zweifachen Bild zu sprechen - sei es, daß in den kontrastiv-linguistischen Omnibus einige falsche Fahrgäste zustiegen,

-sei es, daß man trotz neuer Fahrgäste vergaß, den alten Kurs einer Prüfung zu unterziehen, auf jeden Fall konnte die eingeschlagene bzw. beibehaltene Fahrtrichtung nicht mehr ganz den Gegebenheiten der veränderten Interessenlage entsprechen.

Und eine der wichtigsten Fragestellungen hätte sein müssen, soviel sei aus Verständnisgründen schon hier in aller Kürze vorweggenommen, ob denn einer FU-anwendungsbezogenen Analyse für einige Bereiche nicht ein anderer Gegenstand zur Untersuchung vorliegen müsse, als einem z.B. "anwendungsneutralen" kontrastiven Sprachvergleich.

Liegen nämlich bei letzterem an beiden Untersuchungspolen je eine Sprache (L_1 und L_2)¹³ bzw. je ein äquivalentes, voll ausgewogenes (Sub-)System in demnach weiter Trennung als Gegenstand einer durchaus linguistisch begründbaren Analyse vor, und nur diese (vgl. Schema a.), so müßten bei ersterem hingegen, bei gleicher bipolarer Teilung in je eine L_1 und L_2 , bzw. in die jeweiligen Subsysteme etc., im Zwischenbereich weitere, nie ausschließlich linguistisch begründbare Gegenstandsrepräsentationen, die *Interimsprachen* (Li)¹⁴, für die Untersuchung relevant werden (vgl. Schema b.). Erst durch den Einbezug des Ansatzes dieser Interimsprachen und deren Implikationen, so lautet die Hypothese, ergibt sich im Hinblick auf die FU-bezogene KA, die Möglichkeit, für einige ihrer spezifischen Erfordernisse und Gegebenheiten ein adäquates und kohärentes theoretisches Konstrukt zu erarbeiten. Und erst dieses theoretische Konstrukt könnte dann im weiteren die Basis für eine Prädiktion (Prognose) von Teilen sprachlichen Verhaltens beim Fremdsprachenlernen abgeben, womit gleichzeitig impliziert wäre, daß nicht mehr der Zwang besteht, nur auf der Stufe der Explanat (Diagnose) dieser Verhalten zu verharren, wobei überdies die Adäquatheit einer Explanat, so wie sie von Schema a. ableitbar wäre, vor dem Hintergrund des FU in Frage gestellt werden kann.



2.4. Ohne nun detailliert auf die weitere Entwicklungsgeschichte der Termini " k o n t r a - s t i v e Linguistik/Analyse/Grammatik" und deren Bedeutungen bzw. jetzige Definitionen eingehen zu wollen, kann vielleicht soviel angedeutet werden, daß sie nach dem Aufkommen des Nexus KA-FU immer bevorzugter für diese spezielle Verbindung gebraucht wurden, und dies vor allem dann, als die "Contrastive Structure Series"¹⁵ zur weiteren Verbreitung dieser Termini in exakt diesem Zusammenhang das Ihre beitrugen.

Dadurch aber, daß trotz neuer Zielsetzungen die Prämissen des synchronen Sprachvergleichs ziemlich getreu beibehalten wurden, war es möglich, in diesen Termini (vor allem natürlich "kontrastive Linguistik" "contrastive linguistics") die alten synchron komparatistischen Gebiete wieder mehr oder weniger zu integrieren und darüber hinaus neue Verwandtschafts- und Anwendungsbezüge dafür aufzutun.

Der öfters angesprochene Gliederungsversuch kontrastiver Aktivitäten von J. Fisiak¹⁶ deckt denn auch für "contrastive studies" folgende Bereiche auf:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1)theoretical contrastive studies | 2)applied contrastive studies |
| a)general theoretical contrastive studies | a)general applied contrastive studies |
| b)specific theoretical contrastive studies | b)specific applied contrastive studies |

In dieser globalen Systematisierung hat sich nun, sei es, daß sich Anwendungsbezüge etablierten, sei es, daß Rezeptionsbezüge vorlagen (oder beides zusammen), eine stattliche Anzahl von Objektiven, Disziplinen und Aktivitäten einbringen lassen, die im folgenden zwar genannt, jedoch nicht obiger Systematisierung zugeordnet werden sollen:

<u>Eingabe</u>	<u>Disziplin</u> ¹⁷	<u>Anwendungsbereich</u> ¹⁸
L ₁ - L ₂	Kontrastive Analyse	a. Typologie
	Konfrontative Analyse	b. Fremdsprachenunterricht
		c. Übersetzung
		d. maschinelle Übersetzung
		e. Bi-, Trilingualismus
		f. Universalienforschung

- g. Kindersprache
- h. Vergleichende Stilistik
- i. Soziolinguistik
- k. Dialektforschung
- l. Idiomatologie
- m. Fehleranalyse
- n. Transferforschung

Diese Liste ist umfangreich und vielleicht ließe sich noch der eine oder andere Anwendungsbezug kontrastiver Analysen hinzufügen, mit der Nennung des FU, und das versteht sich von selbst, ist jedoch, trotz dieser großen Konkurrenz, nach wie vor das wichtigste Objektiv kontrastiver Bemühungen herausgelöst, - und zwar wichtig sowohl in bezug auf die fundamentale Bedeutung des FU, als auch in bezug auf das Ausmaß an Ergebnissen, die die KA zur Optimierung des FU beisteuern sollte. Und so werden es vor allem die Folgen aus dem Verhältnis zwischen Eingabekomponenten (z.B. L_1 - L_2) und dem FU als Objektiv der KA sein, die im folgenden einer exemplarischen Betrachtung unterzogen werden sollen. Doch ehe die Konsequenzen besprochen werden, die sich aus diesem Verhältnis ziehen lassen, sei andeutungsweise der Kritik am Output der KA hinsichtlich des FU stattgegeben, einer Kritik, die gleichermaßen auf die Berechtigung obigen Vorhabens hindeutet und es zudem in einen größeren Zusammenhang überführt.

3. Der herkömmliche Ansatz, zwei Sprachen (L_1 und L_2) als Eingabe in die KA anzunehmen, läßt sich zurück-²führen auf die schon erwähnten Annahmen der linguistisch begründeten Sprachlehrforschung um 1950, daß sich nämlich dort, wo zwei Sprachen Unterschiede zeigten, auch automatisch Lernschwierigkeiten, damit auch Fehler und Interferenzen einstellen würden, daß sich schließlich, basierend auf linguistischer Interpretation von Kontrastmaterial, gar Fehlerhierarchien einrichten ließen.¹⁹

Eine Relativierung dieser Ansichten, die wir zusammenfassend und in Anlehnung an andere "kontrastive Hypothese" nennen wollen, wurde allerdings, und dies sollte auch einmal erwähnt werden, seit der ersten Stunde ins Auge gefaßt. So schrieb R. Lado in bezug auf die Ergebnisse einer KA:

"yet it must be considered a list of hypothetical problems until final validation is achieved by checking against the actual speech of students."²⁰

Trotzdem finden sich noch Jahre später so unkritische Äußerungen wie:

"what the student has to learn equals the sum of the differences established by the contrastive analysis",²¹

Äußerungen also, die die kontrastive Hypothese offensichtlich als nicht zu relativierende Faktizität annehmen.

Gleichzeitig jedoch wuchs auch die Kritik an dem praktischen Wert kontrastiver Analysen, was sowohl ihren prognostischen, als auch ihren explanatorischen Anspruch betraf. Es lag nahe,

- einmal die von einer KA indizierten virtuellen "Interferenz"-Bereiche mit den tatsächlichen Fällen, den entstandenen und entstehenden interlingual begründeten Fehlern zu vergleichen,
- das andere Mal Überlegungen darüber anzustellen, welcher Prozentsatz an Fehlern überhaupt in den Aussagebereich der interlingualen KA fiel,
- als auch die Frage aufzuwerfen, ob überhaupt, - bei der fatalen Verpflichtung, mit einem wie auch immer definierten Tertium Comparationis arbeiten zu müssen -, auf dieser möglichst anwendungsorientierten Ebene sprachvergleichende Adäquatheit zu erreichen sei, -und einiges andere mehr.

Da die Fragen um Stufung, Zusammenstellung und a priorische Schwächen des Tertium Comparationis letztendlich in den Bereich der theoretischen Linguistik gehörten, konzentrierte sich das zeitweilige Interesse der angewandten kontrastiven Linguistik auf die Stellung, die die Fehleranalyse (FA) in bezug auf die KA einzunehmen habe: FA als eigenständige Disziplin und Korrektiv zu KA²², KA als Deskriptionskomponente der interlingualen Interferenz innerhalb der FA²³, oder nur FA anstatt KA²⁴, - so lassen sich in etwa die hierzu ver-

tretenen Meinungen aufschlüsseln. Das "Schlußwort" wurde gesprochen und im nachhinein die ganze Debatte um den praktischen Wert (Prognose oder Explanaton) kontrastiver Analysen als akademisch abgetan.²⁵

Es muß natürlich unbefriedigend sein, wollte man auf diesem Meinungsstand, so berechtigt. er auch klingen mag, für immer verharren. Eine Konsequenz daraus wäre nämlich, daß die Beschäftigung mit der folgenden grundsätzlichen und vor allem für angewandte Zwecke weiterführenden Fragestellung blockiert würde: Vermag die KA, den FU im Blickfeld und unter Beibehaltung ihrer bisherigen theoretischen Basis, überhaupt auf zufriedenstellende Weise prognostisch und auf adäquate Weise explanatorisch sein? Selbstbescheidung gegenüber einem mit der herkömmlichen KA allein nicht zu erreichenden Ziel, ein Sichzurückziehen der KA auf den nur linguistisch orientierten Sprachvergleich, oder der Versuch der Umformulierung der herkömmlichen KA unter gleichzeitiger Koppelung mit einem Neuansatz: das sind die Alternativen, die sich hieran anknüpfen lassen.

Der Rückzug in die sprachtheoretische Kontrastlinguistik kann hinsichtlich des geforderten FU-Kontextes ausgeschieden werden. Bleiben also noch die beiden restlichen Möglichkeiten. Da jedoch nicht einsehbar ist, warum Prinzipien wie Explizitheit und Adäquatheit etc., die für linguistische Beschreibungen mittlerweile zum Topos geworden sind, nicht auch, natürlich in entsprechend anderem Sinn, für diese Teildisziplin der angewandten kontrastiven Linguistik gelten sollten, - und unseres Erachtens stellt gerade die Kontamination von KA und FA einen Kompromiß im Hinblick auf diese Prinzipien dar²⁶ -, möchten wir uns hier für die dritte Perspektive des Neuansatzes und der so weit wie möglichen und so weit wie nötigen a prioriischen Umformulierung der KA aussprechen. In dieser Perspektive stellt die angeschnittene Frage nach dem Gegenstandsbereich den ersten und natürlich auch zentralen Schritt dar.

4. Die theorielinguistische und selbstverständlich auch die angewandte linguistische Beschreibung haben Sprache, bei letzterer vor allem als L_2 , zum Gegen-

stand, zum Teil mit, was gerade aus den Reihen des FU kritisiert wurde, sehr unterschiedlichen Zielsetzungen und Interessen: So mögen z.B. Konzeptionen wie "langue" und "parole"; "System", "Norm", "Rede"; "Kompetenz" idealer Sprecher oder "Performanz"²⁷ durchaus theorielinguistisch begründbare, aber nicht den FU stützende Ansichten über Sprache enthalten. Der FU braucht nämlich, und das wird in letzter Zeit immer nachdrücklicher betont, ein Wissen um z.B. die die Satzgrenze sprengende kommunikative Kompetenz²⁸, eine Forderung, die so schnell nicht wird einzulösen sein, die sich nun aber zumindest des öfteren und eindeutiger formuliert findet. Daß diese Forderung gleichermaßen für die wie auch immer geartete kontrastive Linguistik zutrifft, ist evident und findet sich neuerdings auch dadurch aufgegriffen, daß beispielsweise das seinerzeitige "language cultures in contrast" wieder etwas mehr in den Vordergrund des Interesses zu rücken scheint.²⁹

Für uns wesentlich ist, daß das Wissen und die Ansichten über diesen linguistischen Gegenstandsbereich an den generalisierbaren, sprachkommunikativ korrekten Produkten gewonnen werden, die normale, muttersprachlich voll ausgebildete Sprecher hervorbringen. Aufgabe "des FU" ist es, diese Fähigkeiten- und Produktbeschreibung so zu adaptieren und zu programmieren, daß eine effiziente, sprich optimale, Lehr- und Lernbarkeit erreicht wird.

Indem der FU aber auf L_2 zielt, hat er, gerade weil er um Optimierung bemüht sein muß, L_1 als Störfaktor entdeckt. Dadurch, daß nun das In-Beziehungssetzen eines L_1 - und eines L_2 -Bereichs, beides Sprachen und somit Gegenstandsbereich der Linguistik, eben dieser Linguistik als kontrastive Linguistik zugeschlagen wurde, ergab sich als Paradox, daß auch die zu analysierenden Differenzakzidenzen als virtuelle Interferenzzone rein linguistisch begründet wurden. Im Anschluß an die latente Psychologisierung sprachlicher Prozesse, die die Begriffe Kompetenz und vor allem Performanz mit ins Spiel bringen, ist man sich wohl darüber im klaren, daß

solchermaßen orientierte grammatische Regeln mentalen Prozessen durchaus analog sein können, daß sie aber keine Widerspiegelungen psychomentaler Prozesse darstellen, geschweige denn deren Beschreibungen sind, und somit ist man sich auch darüber im klaren, daß, bei dem wenigen, was man von der Interrelation psychischer und linguistischer Prozesse weiß, noch ein langer Weg zurückzulegen ist, um Performanzbeschreibungen liefern zu können.³⁰

So mag es vor diesem Hintergrund vielleicht die Furcht sein, den zweiten Schritt vor dem ersten zu tun, die veranlaßt, die kontrastive Hypothese vor allem über den Vergleich von Sprachsystemen und nicht über die Performanz von L_2 -Lernern auflösen zu wollen. Daß hierbei regelrecht übersehen wird, daß ja gerade mit dem Auftreten des (positiven und negativen) Transfers zwischen zwei Sprachen eine der, im Hinblick auf die Performanz, so schwer erschließbaren psychologischen bzw. psycholinguistischen "Realitäten" als zentral für die Analyse oder zum Einbau in die Analyse an die Hand gegeben wird, mag unentschuldig scheinen, kann aber auch auf die (allerdings heute noch) oft sehr heterogene und keine ausgesprochen feste Anhaltspunkte bietende Einschätzung des Transferbegriffs im allgemeinen und des sprachlichen Interferenzbegriffs im besonderen zurückzuführen sein.³¹

Dadurch nun, daß man von der abstrakten Ebene des puren Sprachvergleichs Abstand nimmt, und der Brennpunkt des Geschehens durch die Interimsprache (L_1) quasi in den Lerner (somit in das Individuum) verlegt wird, kann dem nur oberflächlichen, da rein sprachlich interpretierten Interferenzbegriff des L_1 - L_2 Sprachvergleichs, etwa: "Möglichkeit negativen Transfers von L_1 - Einheiten, -Regeln, -Subsystemen auf entsprechende L_2 - Einheiten etc. im Bereich der analysierten Sprachkontraste", eine vor allem psycholinguistisch begründete und damit differenziertere Vorstellung von Interferenz entgegengesetzt werden, nämlich: "die psychologisch begründbaren Kräfte und Konstellationenresultanten, die bewirken, daß sich an ganz bestimmtem sprach-

lichem Material unter bestimmten Umständen bestimmte Prozesse realisieren können".

Es liegt nahe, daß sich, wie in bezug auf L_1 und L_2 , auch für den Komplex der Interimsprache L_i Ansichten ergeben können, die diesen analog zu den Konzeptionen von Langue und Parole, Kompetenz und Performanz, System, Norm und Rede aufteilen wollen. Doch darf hierbei nie aus den Augen verloren werden, daß die sich im einzelnen ergebenden Kategorien nicht linguistischer Natur sein können, somit also strenggenommen auch eine Übertragung der Ansichten von der sowieso anfechtbaren "Systemhaftigkeit" menschlicher Sprache eine eigentlich nicht₃₂zulässige Annahme für diesen Bereich darstellt.

Tatsache ist auf jeden Fall, daß, da es sich bei der Interimsprache um den Ausdruck von Übergangskompetenzen handelt, es nicht ohne eine diachrone Schau in bezug auf diese Interimsprache geht, - die übrigens zu einem Teil wieder für den Ansatz der pädagogischen Grammatik weiterverwendet werden kann₃₃ -, und daß die (z.B. nach Kontrastrelevanz selektierten) Interimsprachen selbst natürlich kein Gegenstand des Lehrens oder Lernens sein können. Sie gibt Auskunft über Bereiche, die die Fremdsprachenlerner beherrschen, sowie Hinweise für die Fehlerprävention und indiziert somit die, im Blick auf den FU, jetzt erst kontrastivlinguistisch zu beschreibenden Bereiche, wobei sich an dieser Stelle erst die Frage erhebt, ob, und wenn ja, welches explizite kontrastive Material für den FU sinnvoll verwendet werden kann. Daß L_1 bzw. die Beschreibung von L_1 implizit kontrastives L_1 - L_2 -Material eingrenzen, ist wohl nicht zu bestreiten, und würde sich somit weitgehend mit den Forderungen von Seiten der Textbuchautoren³⁴ decken.

5. Um den Begriff der Interimsprache L_i (nun als Eingabekomponente für eine auf den FU gerichtete spezielle Analyse - und zwar alternativ zu der L_1 - L_2 Eingabekomponente von KAn) zu präzisieren, seien folgende Merkmale und Bedingungen zusammengestellt:

- 1) L_i entsteht, wenn L_1 -sprachliche Sprecher Äußerungen in L_2 hervorbringen.
- 2) Der Ansatz von L_i impliziert, daß die zur Beschreibung vorliegenden Fakten nicht von einer (abstrakten) Sprachgemeinschaft stammen, sondern daß diese Fakten von Individuen herrühren, die bei einer Betätigung in L_2 den verschiedensten Einflüssen (z.B. L_1) und Gegebenheiten (z.B. zerebrale Speicherkapazität) ausgesetzt sind.³⁵
- 3) Der Begriff von "Interimsprache" läßt sich in drei Perspektiven sehen:
 - a. Die 1. "langue" Ebene: Hier findet sich die "konkrete" Interimsprache (L_{i_a}). Sie bezieht sich auf die Summe der beschreibbaren "interimsprachlichen Äußerungen" einer gleich definierbaren Sprechergruppe.
 - b. Die 2. "langue" Ebene: Hier findet sich die Vorstellung von der Interimsprache (L_i) schlechthin. In ihr findet sich die Summe der konkreten Interimsprachen ($L_{i_{a-z}}$) versammelt.
 - c. Die "parole" Ebene: Hier findet sich der Bereich der "interimsprachlichen Äußerung" (x von L_{i_a}). Diese bezieht sich auf ein einzelnes individuelles interimsprachliches Sprechereignis.³⁶
- 4) L_i sei nur relevant, wenn sie von Sprechern stammt, die die Schwelle der linguistischen Maturation in L_1 überschritten haben.³⁷
- 5) Eine Äußerung in L_i sei nur relevant, wenn sie als "sinnvolle" Äußerung in einem sinnvollen Zusammenhang und gemäß der Sprecherintention analysierbar ist und insofern eindeutig ist, als sie in ein Übersetzungsverhältnis zu L_1 -und L_2 -Ketten überführt werden kann.³⁸
- 6) L_i umfaßt fehlerhafte und korrekte Äußerungen.³⁹
- 7) Der Ansatz von $L_{i_{a-z}}$ impliziert, daß, da es sich um transitionale Sprecherzustände handelt, eine Sequenzierung nach diachronen Gesichtspunkten vorgenommen werden muß.⁴⁰
- 8) Der Ansatz von L_i impliziert, daß, da es sich um individuelle Sprechereignisse handelt, generalisierbare Beschreibungen von L_i -Stücken (L_{i_a}) nur für

nach verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten zu vergleichende Lernergruppen möglich sind.

In den Kreis dieser zu berücksichtigenden Variablen gehören z.B.: Lerneralter, Wissensstand in L_2 , Wissensstand in L_1 , weitere Fremdsprache(n), Begabung, Lernzeit, Dialekt in der Muttersprache, sozialer Hintergrund etc.⁴¹

- 9) Die L_i bzw. die L_{i_a} stellt die Eingabekomponente in die "interimsprachliche Prozeßanalyse" dar. Diese Prozeßanalyse eruiert und beschreibt die Konzepte, die sich in einer der L_i bzw. L_{i_a} unterliegenden Struktur (der latenten Psychostruktur) organisieren und die zu den interimssprachlichen Äußerungen geführt haben bzw. führen; (vgl. Kap. 6).

Es sei zugegeben, daß

- bei der Vielzahl der oben angesprochenen Variablen, die in sich wieder kombinierbar sind und sehr Problematisches anschnitten,
- bei den Fragestellungen, die die (nicht nur linguistische!) Beschreibung der L_i -Oberflächenfakten aufwerfen,⁴²
- bei der Komplexität des psycholinguistischen Interferenzbegriffs etc.

im Blick auf die herkömmliche KA von den Vorteilen einer solchen L_i -Eingabe in ein FU-bezogenes prozeßanalytisches Modell zu sprechen, gegenwärtig vermessen ist. Trotzdem wird nicht geleugnet werden können, daß viele Kritiken an der KA nur von Ergebnissen aus den hier angeschnittenen Forschungsbereichen aufgefangen werden können.

6. Die nun folgenden Ausführungen zu der schon erwähnten unterliegenden Struktur der Interimsprache sind vor allem dadurch motiviert, einmal auf dem Gebiet der interimsprachlichen Prozeßanalyse⁴³ Ansätze eines theoretischen Überbaus zu entwickeln, der mit theorielinguistischen Konzeptionen vergleichbar sein und gleichzeitig das Fehlen entsprechender einheitlicher kontrastivtheoretischer Konzeptionen verdeutlichen soll, zum anderen bestehende und ständig zunehmende Bemühungen im Bereich der Fehler-

analyse soweit wie möglich in das Konzept der Interimsprache zu integrieren und sie etwas gegen die verborgene Kritik, ihr Grundanliegen sei vor allem taxonomisch begründet, abzusichern.⁴⁴

6.1. Wir bauen auf der Annahme auf, daß unter Zugrundelegung der latenten Sprachstruktur, die in jedem Menschen angelegt ist, mit Einsetzen der sprachlichen Maturitas eine bzw. mehrere Sprachen (L_1) voll ausgebildet (internalisiert) sind, und zwar auf der Stufe der (hypothetischen) Kompetenz eines idealen Sprechers. Der LAD (Language Acquisition Device) hat seine Funktion aufgegeben.⁴⁵ Kommt es ab diesem Zeitpunkt zu Kontakten mit einer bzw. mehreren weiteren Sprachen (L_2), kann man von der Annahme ausgehen, daß die Erlangung der totalen "native speaker proficiency" zu den raren Ausnahmen gehört. Ob nun dieser Kontakt innerhalb einer ausdrücklich FU-bezogenen oder FU-freien Situation (z.B. bei Gastarbeitern) geschieht, kann hier fürs erste unberücksichtigt bleiben, nicht aber zum Beispiel, ob diese Kontaktsituation als koordiniert oder kombiniert anzusprechen ist, - doch dies findet sich später bei den Determinanten der Ergebnisse, die aus dieser Kontaktsituation entstehen, besprochen.

6.2. Wichtig ist, daß nach dem chronologisch genau fixierten Abschluß der Aktivierung der "latent language structure", die auf totales Sprachbeherrschen des Individuums ausgeht, eine nunmehr zeitlich nicht abhängige, anders geartete verborgene psychologische Struktur⁴⁶ ansetzbar ist, von der gesagt werden kann,

- daß sie z.B. nicht wie die latente Sprachstruktur zu einer Kompetenz aktiviert werden kann, sondern im Hinblick auf eine schon bestehende (abgeschlossene) und eine neu aufzubauende Kompetenz ständig determinierend in den Performanzprozeß von L_2 (und auch von L_1 : retroaktiver Transfer, "backlash" Transfer) eingreift,
- daß sie sich an der Oberfläche nie direkt sondern immer nur indirekt im interimsprachlichen Material repräsentiert findet,
- und die insofern nicht mit Kompetenz im herkömm-

lichen Sinn in Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann, da sie weder eine natürliche Sprache, noch deren gewohnte grammatische Systematik widerspiegelt.

Der Umfang der idealen transitionalen Lernerkompetenz sei demnach kongruent mit dem Ausmaß an fremdsprachlichem Wissen, das in einem hypothetisch kumulativ ablaufenden Lernprozeß angesammelt wird. Der tatsächliche transitionale Performanzstatus hingegen ist determiniert durch die, je nach Individuum oder vergleichbaren Individuen (Gruppen), relativ zu mehreren Faktoren verschiedene, substantiell jedoch konstante verborgene sprachbezogene Psychostruktur.⁴⁷ In ihr wird die (falsifizierbare) Kumulationshypothese sprachlichen Lernens durch den "realen" Lern- und Speicherbegriff substituiert, hier werden der Transfer und weitere Korrelationen der verschiedenen konstitutiven Komponenten (z.B. verschiedene Strategien, deren oft simultane und sich gegenseitig bedingende Wirkungsweise sich in L_1 bestätigt findet) anzusetzen sein.

6.3. Und in diesem Sinn kann als ein Charakteristikum der latenten Psychostruktur, immer im Hinblick auf L_1 als internalisierte und L_2 als zu lernende Größe, das Prinzip der "Fixierung"⁴⁸ eingeführt werden. Dieses Prinzip beinhaltet die Tendenz des L_1 -sprachlichen Sprechers von L_2 (des Sprachlerner) zu einem Verharren auf einem ersten, schon internalisierten oder adaptierten "Etwas" (Wörter, Bedeutungen, Regeln aus L_1 und L_2 , Strategieteilen etc.) innerhalb eines Verhaltens, das im Bereich und nach den Bedingungen eines zweiten, anderen "Etwas" (z.B. L_2) stattzufinden hat.⁴⁹ Für das Fixierte ergeben sich daraus die Bewertungen falsch oder richtig, wobei wir hier die Meinung vertreten, daß auch korrekte L_2 -Passagen in L_1 für die Erklärung der latenten Psychostruktur und damit von L_1 unabdingbar sind, z.B. dann, wenn sie auf richtigen Hypothesen des Lerner aus dem Bereich seiner interimsprachlichen Transferstrategie beruhen, oder wenn bisweilen (z.B. aus Resistenzgründen) keine Fixierung da eintritt, wo man sie zuallererst erwarten dürfte, beim positiven Transfer.

Diese Fixierung, negativ und positiv, ist zentral für L_1 , jede Äußerung in L_1 kann potentiell als von ihr

mitgestaltet angesehen werden, sie stellt eine "Universalie" für alle konkreten L_1 dar.

Folgende Ausprägungen der Fixierung lassen sich zum Beispiel abhebbar machen: Transfer von Formen, Inhalten, Regeln von L_1 auf L_2 (positiver Transfer, Interferenz); Transfer von Formen, Inhalten, Regeln innerhalb L_2 (Übergeneralisierung); Transfer von Gelerntem und Lernweisen; verschiedene Strategien (Lern-, Kommunikations-, Transferstrategie).⁵⁰

Diese Liste könnte noch erweitert werden, zentrale Ausprägungen der Fixierung werden jedoch vor allem Transfer und Strategie bleiben, wobei hier noch die Möglichkeit besteht, die Strategie als weitere Inzidenzbasis des Transfers aufzufassen.

Das heißt: Dem "primären" Transfer also, dessen Inzidenzbasis unmittelbar sprachliches Material darstellt, -wobei ja hier eine Unterscheidung in L_1 und L_2 unabdingbar ist-, wäre noch ein "sekundärer" Transfer zur Seite zu stellen, dessen Inzidenzbasis in mittelbarer Beziehung zum sprachlichen Material steht, wie etwa die erwähnten Strategien des Transfers selbst, der Kommunikation und des Lernens. Doch wird es schwierig sein, vor allem bei dem Wenigen, was man von Strategien weiß, Interimsprachliches als auf Strategientransfer beruhend zu analysieren.

Der Grund ist darin zu sehen, daß sich z.B. Ausformungen des primären Transfers von Ausformungen des sekundären Transfers (dem Transfer von Strategiestücken beispielsweise) in der interimsprachlichen Oberflächenstruktur nicht zu unterscheiden brauchen. Erst Erhebungen zur Frequenz und zu weiteren Umgebungsverhältnissen der gefundenen Erscheinungen etwa können Rückschlüsse darüber zulassen, um welche Inzidenzbasen es sich in den einzelnen Fällen handelt. Nichtsdestoweniger ist es wichtig zu wissen, daß die oben aufgeführten Inzidenzbasen und vielleicht noch einige andere mehr für den L_1 -Bereich auf das Transferphänomen zutreffen können, daß also der Transferbegriff, was

nur natürlich ist, beispielsweise auch auf andere Erscheinungen als nur die der sprachsystematisch begründeten L₁ - L₂ Inzidenzbasen ausgedehnt werden kann, daß sich also von daher, jetzt nur im Blick auf Fehlerhaftes, eine Großgruppierung von generellen Interferenzen und deren Spezifikationen erarbeiten läßt.

6.4. Die geläufige Meinung, Tiefenstrukturen gehörten nicht in eine kontrastive Grammatik, da sie, - vor allem wenn sie sich auf Universalien gründen -, sowieso keinen beschreibenswerten Gegenstand für kontrastive Grammatiken darstellten⁵¹, ist ebenfalls vor dem Hintergrund des Transferphänomens differenzierbar. Denn: Um sprachliche Erscheinungen beschreiben zu wollen, wird man wohl auch Tiefenstrukturen mit in die Deskription aufnehmen müssen, nicht primär als Gegenstand einer KA, sondern als beschreibungstheoretisches A priori (einmal für die generativ transformationelle Grammatik, dann als Tertium Comparationis für eine generativ-transformationell basierte KA). Daß sie auf einer anwendungsbezogenen Endstufe ohnehin eine Sonderrolle einnehmen, ist evident. Da, wie schon angedeutet, einmal zwischen dem linguistischen und dem psycholinguistischen Regelapparat nicht notwendig Kongruenzen bestehen, wäre es übertrieben, interlinguale Unterschiede im "tiefen" generativ-grammatischen Regelbereich als Inzidenzbasen für den Transfer ansetzen zu wollen. Zum anderen lassen die Ansichten über die grundsätzliche Verschiedenheit zwischen Kinderspracherwerb und "Erwachsenen"-Zweitsprachenerwerb die Vermutung zu, daß beim Erwachsenen ein (unbewußter) aktiver Rückgriff auf latente Sprachstrukturen nicht mehr möglich ist, daß er sich also in bezug auf L₁ und L₂ vor allem Oberflächenerscheinungen und Ansichten (Strategien) über diese verhaftet fühlt. Damit soll nichts gegen die Annahme der (linguistischen) Adäquatheit generativ-grammatischer Regeln und deren etwaige Nützlichkeit für den FU gesagt sein.

Vielmehr erscheint es uns angezeigt, daß das Konzept der Tiefenstrukturen durchaus für (linguistisch orientierte) Sprachvergleiche angesetzt werden sollte, - auch wenn letztere in bezug zum FU zu sehen sind. Im Hinblick auf Untersuchungen des hier beschriebenen

Analysetyps ist hingegen zu vermuten, daß das linguistische Konzept der Tiefenstrukturen vernachlässigt werden kann.⁵²

7. Die Tatsache, daß für ein Prinzip (Transfer) verschiedene direkt oder indirekt oberflächenverhaftete Inzidenzbasen anzusetzen sind, weist darauf hin, daß es sinnvoll ist, sich bei der Beschreibung von L_1 nicht nur auf unmittelbare $L_1 - L_2$ Transferbereiche, (dies entspräche dem Ziel kontrastiver Analysen), zu beschränken.

Für die Plausibilität dieser Forschungshypothese spricht auch die oft zu hörende Meinung, daß die Ergebnisse der KA nur für den Anfängerunterricht (bis ca. 250 Stunden eines semi-intensiven Sprachkurses) optimal verwendbar seien. Daß die KA-Ergebnisse auf der Stufe der sehr weit Fortgeschrittenen, etwa im Zusammenhang mit einem v.a. auf Heuristik abgestellten Übersetzungsunterricht, wieder wichtig werden können, das bestätigt nur diese Annahme. Tatsache ist jedenfalls, daß, - da die Menge der Elemente und Regeln von L_2 im Lerner ständig im Wachsen begriffen ist -, der Zeitpunkt relativ genau abzuschätzen ist, an dem immer öfter Transfer innerhalb L_2 stattfindet und somit, wenn negativ, Übergeneralisierungsfehler stiftet.⁵³

Eine Beschränkung in diesem Kontext würde also eine durch nichts zu rechtfertigende Eingrenzung darstellen. Um die Transfervorstellung der herkömmlichen KA jedoch in sich relativieren zu können, soll im folgenden die Komplexität des Transferbegriffs nur im Hinblick auf die direkte $L_1 - L_2$ Inzidenzbasis veranschaulicht werden, somit im Detail auch nur in bezug auf die sozusagen "direkten" Umgebungsbezüge, die beim Fremdsprachenlernen involviert sind.

Vor allzu großem Optimismus sei jedoch schon hier gewarnt. Trotz der Vielzahl und Diversität der vor kommenden Determinanten ist der hier dargelegte Transferbegriff nur als Teil innerhalb der Gesamtproblematik der latenten Psychostruktur beschreibbar, wobei ja, was noch hinzukommt, das gegenwärtige Wissen von Transfereffekten noch immer recht lückenhaft ist, im Hinblick jedenfalls auf eine genauere und umfassendere Erklärung des Transfers.

7.1. Allgemeine Transfereffekte, die bei L_2 -Lernern erwartet werden können, lassen sich durch folgende Formel ausdrücken:⁵⁴

$$A_{L_2} = f(A_{L_1}, t_{L_2}, t_{L_1}, R_{L_1-L_2})$$

Hierbei entspricht A_{L_1} , A_{L_2} (Leistung und Wissen (proficiency) des Lerners in und von L_1 und L_2) allgemein formuliert "Aufgabe" A, "Aufgabe" B; t_{L_2}, t_{L_1} bezieht sich auf das Ausmaß des erfolgten Lernens und Lehrens; $R_{L_1-L_2}$ bezeichnet die Relation (Verwandtschaftsgrad) zwischen den beiden "Aufgaben" (Sprachen). Basierend auf diesen Annahmen läßt sich zum Beispiel die Tatsache, daß es eine grundsätzliche Spracheignung, die bei jedem Individuum natürlich weiterhin gibt, die bei jedem Individuum natürlich weiterhin renziert werden muß, auf folgendem gemeinsamen Grund reflektieren.

Bei konstantem t_{L_2} , fixierter $R_{L_1-L_2}$ und bei $A_{L_1} = f(t_{L_1})$

$$A_{L_2} = f(A_{L_1})$$

Für den "Erwachsenen" läßt sich in diesem Kontext bei folgenden Annahmen: ' t_{L_1} ist groß; A_{L_1} ist stabil' für das Erlernen einer bestimmten Sprache ($R_{L_1-L_2}$ ist fixiert) folgende Formel ansetzen:

$$A_{L_2} = f(t_{L_2})$$

7.2. Bringen wir diese allgemeinen Faktoren, die Transfereffekte bedingen, in Zusammenhang mit dem Begriff linguistischer Interferenz, wie er hier näher beschrieben werden soll (L_1-L_2), so kann man dafür diese globale Formel verwenden:

$$A_{L_2} = f(A_{L_1}, R_{L_1-L_2})$$

Zumindest also ist das Auftreten linguistischer Interferenz abhängig von dem individuellen Stand eines Sprechers in L_1 und L_2 und dem Verwandtschaftsverhältnis der in Frage kommenden Sprachen, d.h. den a priori gemeinsamen Elementen, die sich bei den Ausführern der

beiden Aufgaben A und B (A_{L_1} , A_{L_2}) finden lassen. Auf einen ganz bestimmten L_1 -sprachlichen L_2 -Sprecher bezogen, wird das Relationsverhältnis der beiden Sprachen L_1 - L_2 aus Gründen der Meßbarkeit jedoch noch folgendermaßen zu konkretisieren sein:⁵⁵

$$R_a = f(X_{L_1} - X_{L_2})$$

$$R_b = f(X_{L_2} - \bar{X}_{L_2})$$

$$R_c = f(X_{L_1} - \bar{X}_{L_1})$$

Relation a gibt dann des individuellen Sprechers (X) aktuellen L_1 -und L_2 -Stand, R_b dessen L_2 -Stand im Verhältnis zu der idealen Kompetenz (\bar{X}) eines L_2 -Sprechers, R_c dessen L_1 -Stand im Verhältnis zu der idealen Kompetenz eines L_1 -Sprechers wieder. Mit diesem Ansatz erst ist nun beispielsweise die jeweilige Position des Sprechers vor dem Hintergrund des Kontinuums der kombinierten und koordinierten Sprachlernsituation⁵⁶ definierbar, wobei natürlich Relation c, die die retroaktive Interferenz abhebbar macht, für unseren konkreten Zweck weniger notwendig ist.

7.3. Dieser zur Problematik hinführende Ansatz muß nun noch genauer gefaßt werden, und zwar in bezug auf das Verhältnis der Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Aufgaben (Stimuli = S) und Antworten (Responses = R) und den daraus resultierenden Ansichten in bezug auf positiven oder negativen Transfer. (Die in diesem Zusammenhang verschiedene Relevanz des Dekodierens und Enkodierens sei später angeschnitten.)

Die drei Ähnlichkeitsgesetze:⁵⁷

<u>Erstes Lernen</u>	<u>Zweites Lernen</u>	<u>Test</u>	<u>Typ</u>
$\boxed{S - R}$	$\boxed{S - R}$	$\boxed{S - R}$	
1. A — B	A — D	A < $\frac{B}{D}$: Divergent

(Hohe negative Transfererwartung, und dies desto mehr, je größer der Unterschied zwischen B und D ist.)

2. A — B	C — B	$\frac{A}{C} > B$: Konvergent
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(Hohe positive Transfererwartung, und dies desto mehr, je größer die Ähnlichkeit zwischen A und C ist.)

3. A — B	C — D	$\frac{A}{C} \frac{B}{D}$: Unverbunden
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(Negative Transfererwartung, und dies desto mehr, je größer die Ähnlichkeit zwischen A und C ist.)

7.3.1. Die hier angesprochene Ähnlichkeit betrifft sowohl "Response" als auch "Stimulus". Die Response-Ähnlichkeit bezieht sich auf die strukturell abhebbare gemachten Relationen zwischen den linguistischen Systemen der beiden Sprachen. Hier nun wird deutlich, wo in diesem Kontext allein die Aufgabe der herkömmlichen kontrastiven Linguistik liegen kann, bzw. wo sie vor allem liegen muß, nämlich einmal, im Blick auf den FU, in der linguistischen Interpretation der durch die Prozeßanalyse eruierten $L_1 - L_2$ -Befunde, das andere Mal, im Blick auf sprachvergleichende Heuristik, in der adäquaten Beschreibung zweier Sprachen. Signifikant ist, daß die KA somit für die Perspektive der interimsprachlichen Prozeßanalyse, mithin des FU, nur eine *Zusatzkomponente* darstellt, für den linguistischen Sprachvergleich natürlich *eo ipso* als *integrierter Bestandteil* zu werten ist.

7.3.2. Die Stimulus - Ähnlichkeit ist in Zusammenhang zu bringen mit den (hier ganz global gefaßten) internen Umgebungen (mentale "Organisation") und den externen Umgebungen (physikalische "Organisation"), beides Bedingungen, die den linguistischen Äußerungen vorhergehen, also insofern als Determinanten in die latente Psychostruktur Eingang finden. Um eine notwendige weitere Differenzierung dieser "Umgebungen" einzuführen, sei auf den Ansatz der schon erwähnten koordinierten und kombinierten Bilingualsituation hingewiesen, die sich *lato sensu* in der Theorie der direkten und indirekten Lehrmethode wiederfindet.

Eine von mehreren Transfererwartungen, die sich für die Wirkungsweise der latenten Psychostruktur im Blick auf L_i ansetzen lassen, kann vor diesem Hintergrund nun z.B. wie folgt gefaßt werden: bei kombinierter Sprachlernsituation, bei Ähnlichkeit von interner und externer Umgebung, ergibt sich für L_i negative Transfer - Erwartung, und dies desto mehr, je unähnlicher L_1 und L_2 sind.

7.4. Wir wollen hier jedoch nicht weiter auf diese Hypothesen eingehen, die immer im Blick auf Ausnutzung oder Vermeidung von Transfereffekten auch hinsichtlich eines Pro und Kontra der Direkten Methode relevant werden können,⁵⁸ sondern noch einige weitere unbedingt nötige Differenzierungen andeuten. Dies betrifft z.B. die

Unterscheidung in Enkodieren und Dekodieren, in deren Bereichen ja bei den ersten beiden Ähnlichkeitsgesetzen die Transfererwartungen im Blick auf Voraus- und Zurückassoziationen regelrecht umgekehrt werden können.

Eine genaue Analyse auf diesem Gebiet setzt allerdings eine weitere Aufteilung in die vier Fertigkeiten: Hören - Sprechen - Lesen - Schreiben und nicht zuletzt relativ hierzu eine Aufteilung in die verschiedensten grammatischen Gebiete voraus, - wobei ja, dies sei nebenbei bemerkt, die neben dem Sprechen aufgeführten weiteren drei Fertigkeiten für die herkömmliche KA bis dato inexistent zu sein scheinen.⁵⁹

7.5. Mit dem Begriff der Transferfunktion, die je für bestimmte Fertigkeiten, bestimmte grammatische Gebiete, gewisse spezifizizierte Lernzeiträume und verschiedene Ausübungsfaktoren angesetzt werden muß, begibt man sich endgültig auf ein Gebiet, das in dem Konzept der linguistischen Interferenz auch nicht einmal andeutungsweise aufgenommen werden konnte. Hierunter ist zu verstehen, daß für eine jeweilige Kombination obiger Faktoren der Transferereffekt einmal null, einmal linear (also gleichbleibend), einmal nicht linear (zunehmend bzw. abnehmend) sein kann. Es ist in diesem Kontext auf der Stufe solch gearteter Detailuntersuchungen, daß ganz speziellen, den Transfer begründenden Phänomenen (beispielsweise dem der homogenen Hemmung (Ranschburg) als ganz besonders hartnäckigem Verursacher negativen Transfers) nachzugehen ist, oder daß ganz bestimmte Interferenzen, die ab einem bestimmten Wissenstand des Lernalters schon längst unerheblich sein müßten (z.B. franz. **si je serais riche*, .. in der gesprochenen Interimsprache eines Deutschen), auf ihre Verflechtung mit anderen Faktoren untersucht werden.

7.6. In diesem Zusammenhang finden sich weitere ganz spezielle Determinanten, die für den allgemeinen Transfer wie auch für den L_1 - L_2 -Transfer in Frage kommen können: der Zeitintervall zwischen den einzelnen Aufgaben (dies ist natürlich besonders

prägnant bei intralingualem Transfer, jedoch auch für die L_1 - L_2 Perspektive im Hinblick auf Transferstrategie), der Einfluß der Trainingsintensität von anderen Aufgaben auf den Transfer. Dies zeigt in aller Deutlichkeit, daß das Konzept des Transfers auf keinen Fall statisch, wie oft geschehen, sondern prinzipiell dynamisch, z.B. evolutiv, anzusehen ist.

7.7. Diese, den Transfereffekt bedingenden Faktoren und Zusammenhänge kann man, wenn man so will, als in direkter Relation zum FU bzw. L_1 - L_2 stehend, auffassen. Hierzu nun lassen sich noch einige weitere, bezüglich des FU "indirekte" Determinanten des Transfers erwähnen. Es seien dies vor allem individuell bzw. sozial-psychologisch begründbare Verhaltensweisen wie: die strukturelle Resistenz (z.B. Vermeiden von Transfer aus Angst vor Konfusion in Kommunikation in L_2), die individual- oder sozial-psychologische Resistenz gegen L_2 (z.B. stärkerer negativer Transfer aus Gründen der Loyalität gegenüber L_1)⁶⁰ und die oben erwähnten Strategien des Lernens, des Transfers und der Kommunikation, jetzt allerdings nur unter dem Gesichtspunkt, den sie als Bedingungen, nicht als Inzidenz des Transfereffekts darstellen.

8. Die Konzeptionen von L_i , von der sie bedingenden latenten auf L_1 -sprachliche Sprecher einer L_2 bezogenen Psychostruktur und von einer der Komponenten dieser Psychostruktur, dem Transfer, wurden hier so dargelegt, daß sie als Eingabe-, Theorie- und Deskriptionskomponente der interimsprachlichen Prozeßanalyse aufgefaßt werden können. Diese Prozeßanalyse kann wiederum eine integrierte Komponente eines komplexen Modells, das auf den FU zielt, darstellen. Gerade in dieser Blickrichtung nun sei noch auf einige sich hierzu ergebende Aspekte gesondert hingewiesen.

8.1. Hinsichtlich L_i bzw. L_{i_a} als Eingabekomponente ist es unabdingbar, auf gut abgesicherte Korpora zu rekurrieren.⁶¹ Insofern wird, und das ist für diese Art von Analysen Voraussetzung, der a priorische Ansatz einer wie auch immer gearteten Kompetenz entfallen müssen. Sie bzw. die auf ihr

basierenden performativen Prozesse sind es, die analysiert werden müssen. In diesem Sinn kann auf dem Gebiet der Prozeßanalyse, trotz des absoluten Postulats kompletter theoretischer Durchdringung, eine Anlehnung an die Vorstellungen der "Cartesischen Linguistik" etwa nicht vorrangig sein. Es wird hingegen eine enge Verbindung zwischen Theorie und Empirie im Sinne pragmatischer, kybernetischer, rücklernender Systeme zu etablieren sein, - modi procedendi, die übrigens im Bereich der Technik schon längst ihren festen Platz haben.

Was die oben erwähnte Unzulänglichkeit einer Kontamination von KA und FA betrifft, - eine Unzulänglichkeit, die v.a. auf die Verbindung von jeweilig heterogenen Ansätzen zurückzuführen ist, -, als auch was den Vorwurf betrifft, daß die FA, so wie sie bisher ausgerichtet ist, über eine Oberflächentaxonomie nicht hinauszukommen scheint und zudem einen zu engen Bezugsrahmen aufweist, so glauben wir, daß sich durch den Ansatz von L_1 , der ihr unterliegenden Psychostruktur und der Prozesse, die beide verbinden, ein möglicher Ausweg andeutet. Zumindest ist offensichtlich eine größere deskriptorische Adäquatheit erreichbar. Den Forderungen nach maximaler Explizitheit etwa sind jedoch, und das liegt am gegenwärtigen Stand des Wissens, engere Grenzen gewiesen.

8.2. Über den Weg des Testens von an L_1 -Material gewonnenen Hypothesen ist das Konzept der Psychostruktur bzw. im einzelnen das ihrer Konstituenten, deren Komplexität und deren Vielzahl an Determinanten am Beispiel des Transfers gezeigt wurden, ständig verfeinerbar. Das Ziel der Prognose von interimsprachlichem Verhalten scheint, wenn überhaupt, nur über diesen Weg zu erreichen zu sein. Ein beachtenswerter Punkt bezüglich empirischer Untersuchungen (Tests) sei hier jedoch noch erwähnt: Eine Extrapolation von Labor- bzw. Testzimerergebnissen auf die "freie" Sprach- und Sprechsituation ist prinzipiell streng zu überprüfen. Zu viele Einschränkungen, so hat die Erfahrung gezeigt, mußten gerade hier beständig vorgenommen werden.⁶²

8.3. Ist ein Wissen von zum Teil aus Strategien gewonnenen Prognosen verfügbar, so ist der Schritt

nicht mehr weit, die Stellen zu indizieren, wo "kontrastives" Material gerade in diese Strategien eingespielt werden kann. Dies ist zwar noch Vision, doch zeigt es, daß in dieser Hinsicht von der Offenlegung der Psychostruktur weit mehr zu erwarten sein dürfte, als von der in dieser Beziehung gänzlich unprognostischen KA. Unter Umständen läßt sich aufgrund genauerer Vorstellungen über Strategien auch neues Licht werfen auf die Problematik der Sequenzierung von hinsichtlich L_1 - L_2 verschiedenem und gleichem Sprachlehrmaterial.⁶³

8.4. Daß nach oder vor der Prognose nicht etwa eine linguistische Deskription der L_1 -Oberfläche das Ziel der Analyse sein kann, versteht sich von selbst. Für die eventuell graduiert indizierten Bereiche, dem eigentlichen "Output" der Prozeßanalyse, wird erst die linguistische Beschreibung relevant, wobei später der Pädagogischen Grammatik sozusagen die Arbeit erleichtert wird, da sich die indizierten Kontrastbereiche schon chronologisch gestuft finden. In diesem Sinne wären dann auch die Implikationen der Pädagogischen Grammatik, z.B. mittlere Reichweite von Deskriptionen etc., die manchem (angewandten) Kontrastlinguisten die Freude an der Wissenschaft(lichkeit), wenn nicht an der Heuristik trübten, für den L_1 -Modell-Ansatz von vornherein ausdiskutiert: Da die grammatische Beschreibung nicht für eine möglichst exhaustive Auffindung der "relevanten" Kontraste benötigt wird, braucht sie die diesbezüglichen Implikationen auch nicht mehr zu berücksichtigen.

8.5. Daß die Ergebnisse des synchronen Sprachvergleichs, (der kontrastiven Grammatik im Sinne der konfrontativen Linguistik), in Gestalt von Inventaren und Typologien von sprachlichen Kontrasten und Identitäten, nach wie vor eine herausragende Rolle im Bereich der Prozeßanalyse spielen, wurde im Zusammenhang mit der Responseähnlichkeit bzw. Response-unähnlichkeit und dem Ansatz der Transferstrategien unterstrichen.⁶⁴

Ob aber explizit kontrastives Material für den Unterricht in Frage kommen kann bzw. darf, eine Problemstellung der Pädagogischen Grammatik, berührt die Prozeßana-

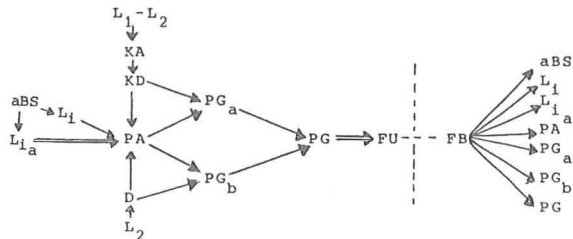
lyse im eigentlichen nicht. Denn ob ihre Indikationen lediglich in L_2 aufbereitet werden oder kontrastiv (L_1 - L_2), ist nach wie vor eine Frage des Abschätzens, zu welcher Zeit und bis zu welchem Umfang das (prinzipiell in kognitivem Kontext zu verstehende) Verwenden von Kontrastmaterial und Kontrastregeln positiv zu bewerten ist.⁶⁵

8.6. Zentral für die Einschätzung der Leistungskraft der Prozeßanalyse ist die Frage, inwieweit eine konkrete Interimsprache L_{i_a} in Zusammenhang mit dem Begriff der "Norm" zu bringen ist, wenn wir einmal für diesen Zweck die generelle Interdependenz zwischen den Sprachen bzw. einer Sprache und der latenten Psychostruktur, d.h. die daraus resultierenden unterliegenden psycholinguistischen Konzepte, als "System" bezeichnen dürfen. Wir haben schon den Begriff der Fixierung als diesem System zugehörig vorgestellt, und somit qua Kategorie gleichzeitig als Universalie für alle konkreten L_i . Für jede Lernerstufe wird, so kann wohl angenommen werden, diese Fixierung bestimmte Aspekte, die sich in der performierten L_{i_a} (entspricht x von L_{i_a}) finden lassen, für eine Generalisierung (da auf einer Norm von L_{i_a} beruhend) frei machen. Einige Stimmen haben sich schon dafür ausgesprochen, daß solche Generalisierungen (ergo auch eine Norm) prinzipiell angesetzt werden können. Das letztendliche Ausmaß einer solchen Generalisierbarkeit wird jedoch den praktischen Nutzen der Prozeßanalyse determinieren, - und hier kann keinem Kritiker gegenwärtig verübelt werden, wenn er ein Versprechen rascher Erfolge beim Beschreiben dieser Norm als zu optimistisch beurteilt.⁶⁶

8.7. Halten wir also hierzu abschließend folgende Punkte als besonders hervorstechend, auch hinsichtlich der KA, fest:

- a) L_1 - L_2 ist durch L_i bzw. L_{i_a} als Eingabegröße in die Analyse zu substituieren.
- b) Die Prozeßanalyse berücksichtigt, daß Fehler und Nichtfehler nicht nur auf L_1 - L_2 Kontrasten bzw. "Identitäten" beruhen.
- c) Mit dem Konzept des Transfers als Konstituente der Psychostruktur lassen sich weit mehr L_i -Phänomene begründen, als mit dem eingengten Begriff der linguistischen Interferenz.

- d) Der Begriff der Strategie ist a priori in die Prozeßanalyse integriert.
- e) Bei der Prozeßanalyse besteht eine größere Nähe zur empirischen Überprüfung.
- f) Die Prozeßanalyse schließt eine explizitere und integrative Beschreibung bezüglich des FU-Kontexts ein.
- g) Die Bedeutung korrekter Stücke in interimsprachlichen Äußerungen ist erkannt, versus teilweise Vernachlässigung der Deskription zwischensprachlich identischen Sprachmaterials bei der KA.
- h) Die Prozeßanalyse liefert Ergebnisse in bezug auf die latente Psychostruktur und die L_1 -Performanz; die KA vergleicht Sprachen und kann somit nur in bezug auf (verschiedene) Sprachsysteme erkenntnisfördernd sein.
- i) Es gibt eine Verbindung zwischen KA und Prozeßanalyse: die KA liefert das linguistische Inventar für die Interpretation der Responses; die KA liefert die Kontrast- und Identitätstypologie, die den linguistischen Beitrag für die Erforschung der Transferstrategie darstellt; die (angewandte) KA liefert, falls notwendig, eine angewandt-linguistische Deskription zu bestimmten, von der Prozeßanalyse indizierten Bereichen.
- j) Die KA zielt auf ein linguistisches Kontrastsystem; die interimsprachliche Prozeßanalyse zielt, - sieht man sie einmal nur in bezug auf L_1 und L_2 -, auf eine psycholinguistische Kontrastnorm.⁶⁷
- k) Die KA ist statisch (sie bezieht sich auf $L_1 - L_2$ in einem synchronen Schnitt); die Prozeßanalyse ist dynamisch (sie bezieht sich u.a. auf $L_1 - L_2$ in diachroner Stückelung: L_{1a}).
- Die bislang angesprochenen Bezüge lassen sich abschließend in etwa durch folgendes Modell veranschaulichen:



Hier neu eingeführte Abkürzungen besagen:

PA = interimsprachliche Prozeßanalyse

KD = kontrastive Deskription D = Deskription

PG = Pädagogische Grammatik FB = Feedbackinsatz

aBS= allgemeine Bilingualsituation

9. Vor dem Hintergrund dieses programmatisch ange-deuteten Modells kann der herkömmliche Ansatz von auf den FU zielenden KAn allerdings immer noch als vertretbare und solide Alternative gesehen werden. Vertretbar vor allem im Blick auf die Notwendigkeit, rasche Ergebnisse liefern zu müssen, vertretbar jedoch nur dann, wenn eine ansonsten befriedigende Gesamtkonzeption vorliegt. Als ein Beispiel dafür, wie eine sehr positiv zu beurteilende Gesamtkonzeption aussehen kann, seien die diesbezüglich wichtigsten Aspekte des Zagreber kontrastiven Projekts genannt, eines Projekts, in dem sich unseres Erachtens, - sieht man einmal von dem hier vorgeführten umfassenderen Anspruch der Prozeßanalyse ab -, viele Kritiken an der auf den FU gerichteten KA aufzufangen finden.

Folgende Aspekte seien u.a. genannt:⁶⁸

- Durch den Ansatz eines Übersetzungspaarkorpus wurde die Möglichkeit der in dieser Hinsicht sehr vielfältig verwendbaren empirischen Stützung eingebaut.
- Die verschiedenen Umformulierungsstufen von der linguistischen Kontrastanalyse bis zum pädagogischen Material befinden sich innerhalb eines Projekts.
- Die FA findet sich als Korrektiv berücksichtigt.⁶⁹
- Kontrastives Material wird auf seine Verwendbarkeit hin getestet.
- Es ist eine ständige Rückkoppelung zum Lerner vorgesehen.
- Die Existenz und Relevanz der Lernaltersprache ("compromise system") findet sich umrissen.

10. Schon bei der Eingabekomponente eines komplexen kontrastanalytischen Verlaufsmodells, so haben wir gesehen, ergibt sich von der Zielkomponente (FU) her

eine Implikation, der Ansatz der Interimsprache L_i , die bei voller Integration folgerichtig auf ein ganz anders geartetes Analysemodell als das der herkömmlichen KA hinführen muß. Das Paradox hierbei ist, daß dies alles immer noch recht eigentlich unter dem Segen der sogenannten kontrastiven Hypothese geschehen kann. Wir haben auch gesehen, daß die Alternative hierzu, - die FA, als Selektiv oder als Korrektiv angesetzt-, ebenfalls eine Implikation der Verwendungssituation, des FU, darstellt. Doch wird sie allenfalls, im Vergleich zu der Zentralität der interimsprachlichen Prozeßanalyse, als *d e s i n t e g r a t i v* determinierender Faktor innerhalb eines auf den FU gerichteten KA-Modells wirksam sein können, was, wie u.a. am Beispiel der "indirekten Interferenz" zu erkennen ist, kein optimales Vorgehen sein kann.⁷⁰

Eine *i n t e g r a t i v e* Determination dieser Faktoren findet sich hingegen bei der interimsprachlichen Prozeßanalyse verwirklicht.

Würde man den Vorschlag aufnehmen, alle Implikationen, die der FU-Anwendungsbezug für die KA bereithält, auf ihre integrative oder desintegrative Determination hin durchzuspielen,⁷¹ würde man sicher noch das eine oder andere Versäumnis bei der Konstruktion herkömmlicher kontrastiv analytischer Modelle finden können: zum Beispiel die Vernachlässigung der kommunikativen Kompetenz, die Vernachlässigung der Unterscheidung in Dekodieren und Enkodieren, des weiteren die Vernachlässigung der Unterscheidung in die vier Fertigkeiten, die Vernachlässigung der Unterscheidung in Kontrast und Kontrasttyp (im Sinne der Kontrasttypologie etwa Differenz) und abschließend die Vernachlässigung des empirischen Feedback.

11. Die hier gezogene Konsequenz aus einem integrativen Determinationsbezug zwischen Verwendungssituation und Eingabekomponente, gemeint ist die interimsprachliche Prozeßanalyse, wirft jedoch nochmals eine Frage auf. Und diese Frage wäre: Wie ist denn letztendlich das Verhältnis dieser Analyse zur kontrastiven Linguistik zu fassen?

Sieht man nämlich die interimsprachliche Prozeßanalyse im Zusammenhang mit der Klassifikation kontrastiver Aktivitäten, so erscheint es fast geraten, diese Analyse der Klarheit halber aus dem ganzen Bereich auszusondern, beinhaltet der Analysekerne doch nur teilweise Untersuchungen zum Kontakt zweier Sprachen und, wo dies der Fall ist, unter gänzlich verschiedenen, nicht nur "kontrastiven" Vorzeichen. Andererseits sind es aber beispielsweise die notwendigen Deskriptionen der Responsebezüge, die Sprachvergleiche voraussetzen und somit wieder eine enge Beziehung zur kontrastiven Linguistik herstellen. Die Folgerung daraus ist, daß die interimsprachliche Prozeßanalyse nur auf Umwegen, wenn überhaupt, in eine strenge Klassifikation der kontrastiven Linguistik integrierbar ist, trotz oder gerade wegen des Bemühens, eine adäquatere Basis für die Beschreibung jener FU-Belange zu finden, die eigentlich, ganz zu Anfang, den rapiden Aufschwung der kontrastiven Linguistik bewirkten.

Wäre dies, nach der "kontrastiven Hypothese", das "kontrastive Paradoxon"?

A n m e r k u n g e n

R. Baur, K.R. Bausch und W.D. Bieritz sei an dieser Stelle für kritische Stellungnahmen besonderer Dank ausgesprochen.

1. Vgl. J. Fisiak (1971, 89), sowie unten Kap. 2.4., S. 6.
2. Vgl. hierzu unten Kap. 10.
3. Hinsichtlich dieser komplexen Verlaufsmodelle denken wir an Konzeptionen wie sie in Artikeln von E. König (1972, 66 ff); H. Kufner (1971) und (1973); G. Nickel, K.H. Wagner (1968); R.L. Whitman (1970) zum Ausdruck kommen und z.T. auch an die Konzeptionen mehrerer Großprojekte, z.B. Contrastive Structure Series (Ch. A. Ferguson, Hrsg., 1962 ff), Projekt für angewandte kontrastive Sprachwissenschaft (G. Nickel, Hrsg., 1968 ff), The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian — English Contrastive Project (R. Filipović, Hrsg., 1969 ff).
4. Wir sprechen hier global von auf den FU gerichteten komplexen Analysemodellen. Dabei ist zu beachten, daß in den seltensten Fällen eine *d i r e k t e* Verwendung der Ergebnisse aus KA bzw. interimsprachlicher Prozeßanalyse gemeint sein kann, (etwa expliziter Einbezug der Grundsprache durch z.B. kontrastive Regeln, wie sie die Analyse ergab), sondern daß meist eine *i n d i r e k t e* Verwendung im FU angesprochen ist (etwa Indikation von Lern-, Lehrschwerpunkten; Eingabe kontrastiven Materials in die didaktische Aufbereitung).
5. C.C. Fries (1945, 9).
6. R. Lado (1957, 1).
7. Vgl. F. Sommer (1921, I); im Unterschied zu Fries und Lado versteht Sommer jedoch seine sich aus diachronen und synchronen Beobachtungen zusammensetzende "vergleichende Syntax" als Lehrerhandbuch.
8. V. Mathesius (1936, 95).
9. Zitat von B.L. Whorf (1941) nach R. Di Pietro (1971, 10).
10. Zur Geschichte des "synchronen Sprachvergleichs" vgl. R. Di Pietro (1971, 9-12), der Ch. H. Grandgent, W. Viëtor und P. Passy in die, historisch gesehen, vorderste Reihe stellt.

11. Die hier angeführten Begriffe sind in Anlehnung an K.R. Bausch (1973, 163-166) gewählt, der dort genauer auf Träger eingeht.
12. Vgl. hier die Ausführungen zur "linguistischen" kontrastiven Grammatik bei K.R. Bausch (1973, 163-174).
13. Es versteht sich, daß die Interpretation von "Sprache" je nach Anwendungsgebiet und Auffassung verschieden ist. Dies spiegelt sich auch in der Terminologie wieder. Für L₁ findet man z.B.: Muttersprache, Grundsprache, Ausgangssprache, Primärsprache bzw. source language, native language, base language. Für L₂ findet man: Zielsprache, Fremdsprache bzw. target language etc.

Zudem ist je nach Anwendungsbezug der KA Direktionalität oder Adirektionalität involviert. Daß im Zusammenhang mit dem FU die Analyse bzw. zumindest die Präsentation direktional zu verfahren hat, ist evident und wird hier als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt. Dadurch daß dies das Verfahren nicht aber den Objektbereich betrifft, haben wir für letzteren generell L₁ und L₂ angesetzt. Je nach Anwendungsbezug ist der Begriff von L₁, L₂ demnach durch entsprechend andere Begriffe zu ersetzen, für den Bereich der Übersetzung z.B. durch Ausgangssprache, Zielsprache. Dies trifft vor allem für die Zusammenstellung in Kap. 2.4. zu, wo wir unter L₁ bzw. L₂ auch beispielsweise verschiedene Dialekte oder Soziolekte einer "historischen" Sprache verstehen. Dies trifft jedoch nicht für die sogenannte "diastruktionale Kontrastierung" zu (vgl. W. Veith (1971, 22)), die denn in diesem Zusammenhang auch keine Berücksichtigung finden kann, zumindest nicht in dem Schema auf S. 6 f.
14. "Interimsprache" besagt: Summe sprachlicher Äußerungen, die aus der Konstellation zu erklären sind, daß Sprecher, die eine L₁ internalisiert haben, sich in einer L₂ (korrekt oder fehlerhaft) ausdrücken.

Zur Begründung und zur weiteren Begriffsbedeutung vgl. Kap. 4. und 5.
15. Vgl. Contrastive Structure Series, Ch. A. Ferguson (Hrsg.) (1962 ff).
16. Vgl. Anm. 1. Für ein Beispiel der Rezeption vgl. etwa G. Nickel (1973, 463); große Ähnlichkeit hierzu findet sich auch bei R. Titone (1972, 252f). Er spricht von "1) Analisi sul

piano teoretico" und "2) Analisi su base sperimentale", wobei allerdings seine experimentelle Sektion mit "accertare, definire e confermare le predizioni teoretico già formulate" wesentlich spezifischer gesehen wird als die "applied contrastive studies" bei Fisiak.

17. Wir votieren hier ebenfalls für ein Zusammenlegen der Termini kontrastiv-konfrontativ (vgl. G. Nickel (1973, 463)), obgleich an anderer Stelle unlängst, u.E. zu Unrecht, für eine schärfere Trennung plädiert wurde (vgl. G. Helbig (1973, 173 ff)), wie überhaupt die Grundtendenz in der gesamten Aufsatzsammlung "Konfrontative Grammatik und Interferenzforschung" (1973)).
18. Ein Verhältnis zwischen der KA und den hier aufgeführten Bereichen findet sich angesprochen bei: für a: B. Pottier (1971), G. Uhlisch (1973), für b: vgl. etwa das in diesem Band vorgestellte Zagreber Projekt (R. Filipović, Hrsg., 1969 ff), für c: H. Raabe (1972), G. Jäger (1973), für d: K.H. Wagner (1969, 306), für e: U. Weinreich (1953), E. Haugen (1971), für f: Verschiedene Beiträge bei K.L. Jackson, R.L. Whitman (Hrsg.) (1971), R. Di Pietro (1971, 13), für g: Ch. A. Ferguson (1968), für h: W. Friederich (1971), für i: M. Higa (1971), für K: G. Nickel (1973, 465), W. Veith (1971, 23). Zu einigen Relationsbedingungen, die bei m. und n. ins Spiel kommen, vgl. die weiteren Ausführungen und die entsprechenden Literaturangaben in diesem Beitrag.
19. Hierzu R. Lado (1957, VII): "The plan of this book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning, and those that will not cause difficulty ..." Die konsequente Weiterführung dieser Annahmen findet sich in dem Versuch der Errichtung eines "degree of difficulty", mit Hilfe von v.a. aus der KA hervorgegangenen Ergebnissen (vgl. R. D. Stockwell, J. D. Bowen (1965, 17)).

Die Ansicht Lados findet sich noch bei K.H. Wagner (1969, 307) übernommen und gar bestätigt, dadurch nämlich daß Wagner (ib., 312) die Schwächen bisheriger KAN einzig in der Verwendung unzureichender linguistischer Beschreibungsmodelle begründet sieht.
20. Vgl. R. Lado (1957, 72).
21. Vgl. B. Banathy et al. (1966, 37).

22. Z.B. E. König (1972, 62 ff).
23. Vgl. K.R. Bausch (1973, 177).
24. Z.B. C. Rojas (1971, 58 f).
25. Als "Schlußwort" aus der Sicht der KA möchten wir die Ausführungen von C. James (1971) und (1972) bezeichnen, der sich für die Unersetzbarkeit der KA auf verschiedenen Gebieten ausspricht und auch noch den Anspruch des "predictive", also der "strong form" der KA aufrecht erhalten sehen möchte. Doch ist hier zu befürchten, daß James generell zu wenig FU-orientiert argumentiert.

 Natürlich steht diesem "Schlußwort" eine große Anzahl anderer, z.T. entgegengesetzter Meinungen gegenüber. Stellvertretend hierfür sei W.R. Lee (1972, 165) zitiert: "Ich habe die kontrastive oder differentielle Linguistik nicht angegriffen, sondern nur gesagt, daß die pädagogische Theorie ihr keinen allzu hervorragenden Platz einräumen sollte," ein Zitat, das sich am besten reflektieren läßt vor dem Ausspruch von S.P. Corder (1972 b, 10), "difference and difficulty are terms in two different theories and cannot without further investigation be equated".
26. Vgl. hierzu etwa das Modell von E. König (1972, 63), wo abgesondert eine psychologische Komponente in das Konstrukt der KA eingreifen soll.
27. Diese Begriffe sind hier gemäß der Intention ihrer Initiatoren (F. de Saussure, E. Coseriu, N. Chomsky) gemeint.
28. Z.B.: W. Motsch (1972, 215 f); S.P. Corder (1972 b, 8 und 13); E. Roulet (1972, 1-6).
29. Vgl. R. Lado (1957) und die Ankündigung von G. Nickel (1973, 467). Auf die Relevanz dieses Gegenstandsbereichs innerhalb der Transferforschung weist L.A. Jakobovits (1969, 81) hin.
30. Vgl. die Ausführungen hierzu bei H. Hörmann (1970, 51f), W. Motsch (1972, 219), W.D. Bieritz (1974), J. Greene (1972) und vielen anderen mehr.
31. Vgl. den Übersichtsartikel von G. Oléron (1968) sowie W. Nemser, T. Slama-Cazacu (1970, 113 f), F. Debyser (1970).
32. Dies stellt u.a. ein Argument dar, die Begriffe "approximative systems" (W. Nemser (1971) oder "compromise

- s y s t e m " (R. Filipović(1972)) nicht für die Vorstellung der Interimsprache zu verwenden.
33. Vgl. J.S. Noblitt (1970) und H. Kufner (1973, 23 f), die den diachronischen Charakter einer Pädagogischen Grammatik betonen.
 34. Vgl. W.M. Rivers (1968); R.A. Hall jr. (1968).
 35. Mit Punkt 1) sei angedeutet, daß interimsprachliches Material auch von Sprechern stammen kann, die per definitionem keine L₂-*"Lerner"* sind bzw. keine L₂-*"Lerner"* mehr sind. Dies führen wir gegen die Konzeptionen der *"Lernersprache"*, der 4. Art des *"idiosyncratic dialect"*, des *"état de dialecte"* (S.P. Corder (1971), (1972a) und (1973, 256 ff)) ins Feld, wie auch gegen den Ansatz der *"Sekundärsprache"* (K. Kohn (1973, 242)). Dadurch kann die allgemeine Eingabekomponente für die Interimsprachanalyse gegenüber der Lernersprachanalyse als erweitert betrachtet werden, d.h. es können auch Ergebnisse und Materialien etwa aus der Bilingualforschung (U. Weinreich (1953), M.G. Clyne (1967), etc.) oder auch in ganz weitem Rahmen aus der allgemeinen Fehlerpsychologie, was allerdings auch den L₁-L₂ Bezug sprengt, einbezogen werden (vgl. H. Weimer (1942)). Daß sich der konkrete Feedback bzw. gezielte Untersuchungen auf genau spezifizierte interimsprachliche Situationen vor dem Hintergrund des zeitlichen Kontinuums eines Längsschnitts beziehen müssen, ist evident. Der Aspekt, der in Punkt 2) angesprochen wird, findet sich im *"in discenti"* Analyseansatz bei W. Nemser, T. Slama-Cazacu (1970), leicht modifiziert auch bei T. Slama-Cazacu (1974), vorge schlagen.
 36. Die hier benutzten Begriffe beziehen sich auf L₁. Insofern ergeben sich natürlich Unterschiede zu der de Saussure'schen Terminologie.

Vor dem Hintergrund der in Punkt 2) angeschnittenen Individualität des interimsprachlichen Sprachereignisses, finden sich bei W. Nemser, T. Slama-Cazacu (1970, 116) *"individual linguistic system"* und *"individual verbal events"* angesetzt, eine Konzeption, die für 2) voll übernommen werden kann und komplementär zu 3) zu sehen ist.
 37. Vgl. E.H. Lenneberg (1967, 156, 176) und die Konsequenz davon für z.B. die Verwendung von KAn (H. Kufner (1971)).

38. Dies zielt auf eine Unterscheidung in erstens v.a. sprachlich begründbare und für die Beschreibung von L_1 relevante "Fehler" und zweitens Erscheinungen, die als "Irrtum" bezeichnet werden können oder hauptsächlich durch Irrtum erklärt werden können; zur Definition des Irrtums H. Weimer (1942, 48), aus angewandtlinguistischer Perspektive S.P. Corder (1973, 256-61: "lapses").
39. Die Relevanz der korrekten Äußerungen für die Erklärung interimsprachlicher Erscheinungen ist im Bereich der FA bisher stark vernachlässigt worden. Dahinter steht, daß der Fehler v.a. aus sich heraus stets isoliert analysiert wurde und darüber seine systematische Verbindung mit dem "Nichtfehler" vergessen wurde. In dem Konzept der "interlanguage" (L. Selinker (1969, 71 und 1972)) wie auch bei S.P. Corder (1972a, 179) hingegen findet sich dieser Ansatz berücksichtigt, der v.a. vor dem Hintergrund der Erkenntnisse, die bei der Erforschung der Kindersprache gewonnen wurden, transparent wird.

Was den Ausdruck "interlanguage" selbst betrifft, so erscheint er uns wegen seiner Ähnlichkeit mit "interlingual", "Interlingua", "Interlinguistik" etc., die vor allem in der Übersetzungswissenschaft geläufig sind und dort auch eine gänzlich andere Bedeutung haben, weniger glücklich gewählt. An dieser Stelle muß auch erwähnt werden, daß eine Beschäftigung mit Fehlern den Ansatz eines Normbegriffs voraussetzt (L. Selinker (1969, 91), J. Juhasz (1973, 461: bezüglich der Interferenz)).

40. S.P. Corder spricht von "é t a t de dialecte" (1972a). Durch Aufnahme dieses Punktes findet sich in L_1 beispielsweise ein a priorischer Mangel der KA hinsichtlich des FU aufgefangen, der schon seit langem angezeigt ist: "After any small increment of learning, the student is no longer the "pure native speaker" assumed by the CA of the native and target languages". Oder "...different language backgrounds... will present different transfer problems in the learning of the target language." (J.A. Upshur (1962, 126)).
41. Gerade hier dürfte deutlich werden, wo die Crux der angewandten Linguistik und konkret der interimsprachlichen Prozeßanalyse liegt: bei den Schwierigkeiten, erzielte Untersuchungsergebnisse zu validieren. Vergleicht man nämlich

den Zuschnitt dieses "Katalogs der Unerschöpfbarkeiten" mit dem Zuschnitt konkreter Ergebnisse, so fällt auf, daß diese ja meist nur unter reduzierten Bedingungen und Umfängen haben überhaupt erst erzielt werden können, der anvisierte Realitätsbezug also stets um vieles komplexer ist. Der Brückenschlag durch Extrapolation bleibt also oft nur das einzige, leider äußerst unvollkommene und sehr angreifbare Mittel (vgl. 8.2.).

Konkret zum Katalog: -Unter etc. könnte z.B. "Geschlecht" fungieren. Daß dies jedoch nicht unbedingt und generell zu sein braucht, darauf lassen Ergebnisse von L. Selinker (1969, 84) schließen. -Zur Erklärung der Verbindung des Sozialen mit dem L_1 - L_2 Hintergrund sei angedeutet, daß etwa der Grad der Loyalität zu L_1 (vgl. 7.7.) abhängig sein kann vom sozialen Hintergrund des Fremdsprachenerners.

42. Vgl. L. Selinker (1969, 72).
43. Zum Terminus "Prozeßanalyse": -"Performanz" sollte der Klarheit halber nur bezüglich Sprache im Sinne einer L_1 , L_2 verwendet werden; -der Ansatz der latenten psychologischen Struktur (s.u.) soll im Terminus der Analyse reflektiert sein. Im Ansatz dieser unterliegenden Struktur findet sich auch der Hauptunterschied zur -ansonsten hier weitläufig mitbeschriebenen- "Kontaktanalyse" von W. Nemser, T. Slama-Cazacu (1970). Die Bezeichnung "Kontaktanalyse" finden wir im übrigen nur dann geglückt, wenn der Untersuchungsgegenstand auf L_1 - L_2 als Interaktanten beschränkt bleibt, d.h. keine diastruktionalen Kontraste (Anm. 13) beinhaltet. Vgl. hierzu B. Lüllwitz (1969/1970, 641-653). In Bezug auf L_1 kann dieser Bereich folgerichtig nur einen Ausschnitt darstellen.
44. Z.B. E.P. Hamp (1968, 146) und in etwa auch L. Selinker (1969, 67), der mehr allgemein den Vorwurf erhebt, daß das Interesse der Autoren sich darauf beschränke, daß sie "assume that transfer is there" ohne zu fragen "as to what language transfer consists of, what actually is transferred, how language transfer occurs and what types of language transfer occur..."
45. Vgl. E.H. Lenneberg (1967, 374 ff).

46. Vgl. L. Selinker (1972, 211-215).
47. In diesem Sinne würde die hypothetische L_2 -Kompetenz beim Aktivationsprozeß als mit den realen "Psychostrukturaktanten" in Reaktion befindlich zu sehen sein.
48. Dies entspricht im Prinzip der "fossilization" bei L. Selinker (1972, 215f). Dadurch daß Selinker mit diesem Begriff jedoch nur Fehlerhaftes anvisiert, ergibt sich vom Gegenstandsbereich her ein Unterschied zur hier vorgeschlagenen "Fixierung".
49. An Aussprache und Intonation der L_1 -sprachlichen Sprecher von L_2 , selbst wenn diese schon das Optimum an "native speaker proficiency" erreicht haben sollten, läßt sich die Existenz der Fixierung besonders anschaulich nachweisen.

50. Diese zusammenfassende Sicht soll nicht den Blick verstellen für die Aufteilung des Transferphänomens in Integrierungsphase (Inhibition), Generalisierungsphase etc; (vgl. unten auch 7.4. ff).

Des weiteren ist eine prinzipielle Zweiteilung in die Inzidenzbasis L_1 und die übrigen erwähnten Inzidenzbasen involviert, da ja z.B. L_1 einem ganz anderen Umfang des Vergessens unterliegt, als es für die übrigen Bereiche der Fall ist. Mit Aphasie läßt sich die diesbezügliche Abnormität andeuten.

Im Anschluß daran sei in aller Deutlichkeit auf einen weiteren wichtigen Tatbestand hingewiesen: Es existiert ein nicht zu übersehender Unterschied zwischen dem Begriff des Transfers, wie er sich im Bereich der Linguistik darstellt, und dem Begriff des Transfers, wie er sich etwa im Bereich der Lernpsychologie darstellt. Einer der zentralen Gründe hierfür ist, daß sich die involvierten linguistischen und lernpsychologischen Parameter nicht decken (vgl. E.J. Brière (1968, 26 ff; L. Selinker (1969, 69) und Anm.57). Trotzdem finden sich sehr oft diese wichtigen Tatbestände weder angesprochen noch verarbeitet (etwa J. Czochralski (1971); G. Helbig (1973)).

51. Vgl. H. Kufner (1973, 27), eine Gegenposition findet sich generell bei R. Di Pietro (1971). Kufners Ansicht muß noch aus zweierlei Gründen, die eigentlich aus dem von ihm vertretenen Argumentationsbereich des FU kommen, unverständlich erscheinen: einmal stellen doch Universalien generell

die Voraussetzung für das Fremdsprachenlernen dar, - warum sollten sie also nicht beschrieben werden in einer KA, die doch per definitionem auch auf zwischensprachliche "Identitäten" abheben soll; zum anderen ist doch z.T. der Nutzen von Tiefenstrukturen für den FU erwiesen. Dies zeigt sich etwa am Beispiel von oberflächenstrukturell gleichen Sätzen, deren Bedeutungsunterschied, auch im FU, sehr gut durch letztendlich tiefenstrukturelle Sätze verständlich gemacht und verdeutlicht werden kann:

(1) *Ich kenne eine Frau, die Englisch kann* → ...*que sabe el inglés.*

(2) *Ich suche eine Frau, die Englisch kann* → ...*que sepa el inglés.*

und: (1a) *Ich kenne eine Frau. Sie kann Englisch.*

(2a) *Ich suche eine Frau. Sie soll/muß Englisch können.*

(Bsp. nach K.H. Wagner (1969, 319)).

52. Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Argumente bei L.A. Jakobovits (1969, 73f). F. Debyser (1970, 47 ff) glaubt beispielsweise, u.E. zu Unrecht, den Entstehungsort der Interferenzen in der Tiefenstruktur und im Transformationsteil lokalisieren zu können.
53. Vgl. A.G. Sciarone (1970), H.L. Kufner (1973, 26), J. Capelle (1971, 74 f). Von hier aus leitet sich übrigens auch die Relevanz der Ergebnisse aus der Erforschung des Erstspracherwerbs (Kindersprache) für die Prozeßanalyse ab.
54. Im folgenden lehnen wir uns teilweise an die Ausführungen von L.A. Jakobovits (1969) bzw. (1970, 188 ff), und von U. Weinreich (1966) an.
55. Vgl. L.A. Jakobovits (1970, 165 ff).
56. Vgl. S.M. Ervin, Ch.E. Osgood (1954).
57. Vgl. J.J. Jenkins (1954), L. Postman (1961).

An dieser Stelle vor allem muß die Kritik an der allzu rigiden Stimulus-Response Konzeption des Behaviorismus aufgenommen werden.

Daß diese Kritik von Seiten der Psycholinguistik, soll die S-R Konzeption auch auf Sprache Anwendung finden,

noch einen weiteren Zusatz erhält, versteht sich. L.A. Jakobovits (1969, 76) definiert denn die S-R Relation entsprechend als Hypothese einer Verbindung von einem "antecedent" zu einem "event" und zwar "in some cause-effect fashion". E.J. Brière (1968, 26) sieht die Diskrepanz zwischen dem lernpsychologischen und sprachpsychologischen S-R Ansatz vor allem in der grundsätzlichen Verschiedenheit von L_1 und L_2 begründet, d.h. $A \text{ in } L_1 \neq A \text{ in } L_2$ und $B \text{ in } L_1 \neq B \text{ in } L_2$.

58. So wird z.B. die Verwendung der direkten Methode bei sehr ähnlichen L_1 und L_2 aufgrund der hohen positiven Transfererwartungen doch als unrationall eingestuft werden müssen. Vgl. L.A. Jakobovits (1969, 63).
59. Eine der raren Ausnahmen bildet z.B. R. Titone (1961).
60. Vgl. U. Weinreich (1966, 388 f).
61. Nicht gerade ermutigend ist, was zu Implikationen dieses Punktes R. Lado bezüglich der Fehleranalyse zu sagen hat (1972, 16: "Forschungsarbeit monumentalen Ausmaßes"). Und doch ist dies das beste Mittel, gegen die bei der KA praktizierte Subjektivität der Materialselektion vorzugehen; vgl. etwa R.L. Whitman (1970, 193) : "the selection of forms is perhaps the most important step in the contrastive process, since it reflects the c o n s c i o u s and u n c o n s c i o u s a s s u m p t i o n of the investigator concerning the nature of linguistic contrast, interference, errors, and so forth." (Hervorhebung von uns).
62. Hierzu auch L.A. Jakobovits (1969, 59).
63. Zur Anordnungsproblematik vgl. R.L. Politzer (1968), dessen Untersuchungsergebnisse in aller Deutlichkeit zeigen, daß die Frage der Abfolge von "parallel and contrasting structures" zumindest noch mit der Natur des jeweiligen konkreten sprachlichen Materials zusammenhängt. Vgl. auch R. Di Pietro (1971, 29): "The strategy of instruction cannot be assumed to be isomorphic with the statement of contrasts."

Über die Interdependenz zwischen Lernerstrategien und Materialanordnung vgl. G. Wienold (1972).

Doch sei an dieser Stelle nicht verheimlicht, daß sich die dirigistische "Strategien und Methoden"-Meinung überlebt hat: "We are beginning to realize that we cannot totally regulate or predict what strategy will work for each individual learner." (P. Pimsleur, T. Quinn (1971, VIII)).

64. Der Ansatz der Transferstrategie impliziert somit eine auf den Ergebnissen von KAn aufbauende "Kontrasttypologie", die die sprachlichen Kontraste bezüglich ihrer Qualität (und auch Quantität) zu ordnen hätte. W.M. Rivers (1968, 153) weist vor dem Hintergrund der Frage, ob Sprachdivergenzen "emically" oder "etically" gelehrt werden sollten, auf die Notwendigkeit folgender Unterscheidung hin: und zwar der Unterscheidung in "contrast" (L_1 - L_2 Elemente überlappen teilweise) und in "difference" (L_1 bzw. L_2 Elemente sind in der jeweiligen Gegensprache nicht vorhanden). Hieraus läßt sich also schließen, daß das, was aus der Sicht des Lehrenden relevant erscheint, auch für die Perspektive des Lernenden relevant sein muß. Somit wird man den Vorschlag W.M. Rivers sicher als Argument für die hier und in diesem Rahmen vorgeschlagene Kontrasttypologie werten dürfen.
65. Vgl. hierzu die relativ frühe Kritik von E.P. Hamp (1968, 144 ff), daß gemessen an dem, was im Bedürfnis des FU stehe, die KA recht unnütz sei (144): "We do not have clear measures of relevance for pedagogy to apply to the formulations arrived at by deriving contrastive statements from grammars" (145). Des weiteren könne man bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten kontrastieren, "but the real question is, can we use all of that ?" (146).

Daß dem so ist, zeigt die reiche Palette an Vorschlägen, die von offener Verwendung kontrastierender Strukturen bis zur verborgenen Verwendung kontrastierender Strukturen (subversive Methode, vgl. R.L. Hadlich, (1965)) reicht. Daß dies natürlich immer vor dem Hintergrund der die jeweilige Unterrichtsform bedingenden Faktoren zu sehen ist, versteht sich.

66. In dieser Hinsicht optimistisch sind W. Nemser, T. Slama-Cazacu (1970), W. Nemser (1971), L. Selinker (1972). Kritische Gegenstimmen finden sich genügend: stellvertretend hierzu W.F. Mackey (²1966, 111f): "Certain linguists have tried to reduce the prediction of error in second language learning to an exact science on the analogy of the way the physical sciences ... can predict such things as eclipses

and chemical reactions." Der Unterschied hierzu ist jedoch: "If mistakes are made in language learning one may indeed discover their causes; but one cannot say with certainty which mistakes will be made and when they will be made." An dieser Stelle soll betont werden, daß es u.E. falsch ist, von "Kompetenzfehlern", (die ja für sich und eigentlich nur für sich Voraussagbarkeit in Anspruch nehmen), zu sprechen. Prinzipiell ist der Fehler, entsprechend der Konzeption von L_1 , eine Angelegenheit der Performanz.

67. Ganz in Anlehnung an E. Coseriu (1970).
68. Vgl. die Beiträge in diesem Band, hinzu noch R. Filipović (1972).
69. Abgesehen von der hier geäußerten Kritik an der FA bezüglich KA ist zu überlegen, ob es nicht prinzipiell rationeller ist, die FA gekoppelt mit den Testergebnissen pädagogischen Materials als Feedback auf der Endstufe der Pädagogischen Grammatik anzusetzen.
70. "Indirekte Interferenz" meint, daß dem Interferenzprozeß eine Paraphrasierung der in Frage kommenden L_1 -Kette in L_1 vorausging. Z. B. (L_1 = Englisch): *Many years went past* → *many years flew by* → *viele Jahre flossen vorüber*. (Bsp. nach G. Radden). Transferstrategie und indirekte Interferenz sind demnach in engem Verhältnis zu sehen.
71. Die Problematik der Aufnahme von FU-Implikationen in die kontrastiv-linguistische Beschreibung findet sich schon früh in dem anregenden Aufsatz von W.O. Dingwall (1964) angedeutet.

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Rudolf Filipović

THE USE OF A CORPUS IN CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

1.0. The first problem facing researchers engaged in a contrastive analysis project¹ is that of the method to be adopted. Immediately after that comes the closely connected question of the corpus. Obviously, the choice of method determines whether a specific corpus is needed or not.

1.1. One of the first questions that we wanted to answer before embarking upon the Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project² was whether to base our analysis on a corpus or on native intuitions. It was clear that this question was linked with the problem of the model of description to be used in contrastive analysis.

1.2. After examining several existing contrastive studies, I found that none employed a specific and consistent method that might be regarded as the method of contrastive analysis.

1.3. The conclusion I drew from the literature and from our experience (based on a number of papers and theses on contrastive topics written in Zagreb seminars over several years) was that in contrastive analysis there is a strong interdependence of theory and practice, so that the best method would be one combining the theoretical and the empirical.

1.4. Our experience showed that there are areas of contrastive analysis in which no purely theoretical method would lead to a satisfactory solution.

1.5. These considerations prompted us to seek a method, or a combination of methods, that would yield not only theoretical but also practical results. These practical results must be applicable in compiling and developing teaching materials and working out im-

proved teaching methods (which is one of the basic aims of our contrastive analysis). This will only be possible if the results are set forth in a manner comprehensible to the average reader of the project's publications.

1.6. We can say that we use at the same time structuralist and transformational-generative approaches to contrastive analysis. We have concluded that a certain degree of mixture of the two is necessary. Some reports are more generative in nature than others, depending on their particular topics.

1.7. To ensure wide coverage of the linguistic phenomena involved, and to make up for the lack of linguistic theory in some areas, we adopted the translation method based on a corpus of text.

2.0. At first we laid down specific principles for the construction of our own corpus. We intended to have two corpuses (an English one translated into Serbo-Croatian and a Serbo-Croatian one translated into English) because it was clear to us from the beginning that a complete contrastive analysis based on the translation method would require two corpuses of equal size and composition. This would enable us to examine phenomena in both languages from the point of view of their translation. It soon became quite clear, however, that it would be rather difficult, if not impossible, to build a large enough corpus with the limited time and resources that we had at our disposal, and that consequently we should have to use an existing corpus and to work with only an English corpus and its Serbo-Croatian translation.

2.1. Why we have chosen the Brown Corpus of two existing corpuses (the London "Survey of English Usage" and the Brown University "Standard Sample of Present-Day Edited American English") and how it was shortened, translated into Serbo-Croatian, grammatically coded, and finally processed by the computer, has been care-

fully discussed and justified in two articles.³

3.0. Let us now see very briefly how other contrastive projects have dealt with the question: "Should we base our analysis on a corpus or on native intuitions?"

3.1. At the Tenth FIPLV Congress⁴ in Zagreb in 1968, in the section on "Contrastive Linguistics and Its Pedagogical Implications", two contrastive projects were discussed. In G. Nickel's paper "Project on Applied Contrastive Linguistics"⁵ PAKS was presented and in B. Carstensen's paper "Contrastive Syntax and Semantics of English and German"⁶ the Mainz project was described.

3.2. The aims and tasks of PAKS were summarized as 1) "the adequate description of the German and English languages based on generative-transformational theory of grammar"; 2) "a contribution to the further development of T-G theory, particularly with reference to its practical application in foreign-language teaching"⁷, etc. It was evident from what we read in the paper that the method used would be T-G and that no use of a corpus was envisaged.

3.3. Carstensen's Mainz project took as its theoretical foundation the linguistic investigations carried out by Noam Chomsky. Beyond the purely scholarly interest of this research an effort would be made to emphasize the relevance of the results of contrastive analysis for teaching purposes. For the purpose of contrastive analysis this project would make reference to the great standard works on the grammar of both languages and the latest structural and transformational descriptions of their syntax.

3.3.1. Use would also be made of the great dictionaries, but beside the dictionaries, the true foundation of this research programme would be a careful examination of a maximally comprehensive corpus of the two languages under comparison. In order to accomplish this task it would

be necessary to use electronic computer processing and first of all to get together a collection of textual material. It would be essential to ascertain statistically how often and with what degree of regularity certain linguistic phenomena are to be found in one particular text or in a series of different texts as the case may be.

3.3.2. Carstensen also envisaged the help of informants, as "experience has already shown that some types of information can only be reliably obtained with the help of informants. Such information would be mainly on certain structures of very low frequency of occurrence, possibly stylistically determined".⁸

4.0. At the Zagreb Conference on English Contrastive Projects⁹ (December 1970) we became acquainted with a few more contrastive projects: Polish - English¹⁰, Rumanian - English¹¹, and Hungarian - English¹². Each of these has developed far enough that we can refer to their points of view on the question of the method and the use of a corpus.

4.1. The members of the Polish - English project adopted the T-G model in the same year in which they began to assemble their own corpus of English and semantically corresponding Polish sentences. The sentences were taken from novels, magazines, and scientific works: 100,000 English sentences and approximately the same number of Polish sentences. The corpus is however, considered only as an aid to Polish research workers¹³.

4.1.1. In 1970 J. Fisiak states in his report, that the encoding of information concerning both English and Polish was initiated, and that it should be completed by the end of 1971. This would make information concerning various aspects of the structure of English and Polish more easily accessible. The Polish-English project partici-

pants have a Polish language corpus at their disposal as well.

4.1.2. In the discussion¹⁴ that followed Fisiak's report it was made clear, however, that "the Polish - English project considers the corpus a help in some cases, and that other cases do not require it, as the corpus is not an end in itself."¹⁵ If it furnishes only a few examples of a problem researchers can look for material outside the corpus. Another justification for this is the fact that the Polish - English project adopted the T-G model.

In further discussion it was stated that "some problems require a corpus, such as those involving norm vs. system. In English the topic of a sentence very often coincides with the subject, which is not so in German" (E. König).¹⁶

4.2. The Hungarian - English project in Hungary is still in its initial stage. From what we know about it we can say that it will be based on a limited corpus¹⁷, unless they take the Zagreb coded version of the Brown Corpus¹⁸ and translate it into Hungarian.

4.3. In the discussion¹⁹ that followed E. König's paper (in which some general questions of the method and contrastive studies were discussed) it was brought out that some contrastive projects, which adopted the T-G model in the beginning, have now renounced it. We heard from König that PAKS, which used to be theoretically oriented, is now much less theoretical. PAKS has also turned to a corpus in some cases.

4.3.1. König pointed out that "in investigating the problem of topicalization, in order to assess the stylistic significance of this particular phenomenon of subjectivizing certain constituents in English and in order to assess the frequency of other phenomena PAKS turned to a corpus. Or, if there is a construction in English which is less like anything in German,

this construction tends to be underrepresented in the English of German speakers. In order to get these phenomena, which are not a question of either-or but more-or-less, one has to turn to a corpus".²⁰

4.4. The English - Rumanian project plans to use a "corpus for analysis which will consist of a vocabulary of several thousand English items, scientifically selected (on the basis of frequency)".²¹

4.4.1. "These lexical items", T. Slama Cazacu states further in her report, "will be analysed from the point of view of their multiple meanings and the grammatical constructions in which they occur, thus arriving at the grammar that operates with this word inventory. On the basis of meaning and structure equivalences between the languages, a similar grammar of the corresponding Rumanian lexical items will be described, thus disclosing the similarities and differences between the two languages. In describing the grammatical structure of the equivalent Rumanian words, note will be taken of their frequency, distribution, and communication value. The possible shortcomings of a corpus formed of examples drawn from dictionaries, i.e. its questionable value as a reflection of the reality of communication, will be compensated for by corroborating the results of this procedure against others directly based on the communication situation, hence on the learner".²²

4.5. It was quite obvious at the Zagreb conference from all the papers, and particularly from the discussion, that every project either used a corpus from the beginning or began to, in the course of its work. It was very interesting to note that even the projects that were originally most theoretically oriented (like

PAKS) have also turned to a corpus. In summing up the Conference,²³ I noted a recurrent theme: "The use of a corpus in contrastive analysis is not a theory and does not aim at replacing theory. The material from the corpus serves as a check on theoretically based conclusions and as a source of data in areas where the theory is adequate." ²⁴

5.0. During our three years of intensive work on the Serbo-Croatian - English contrastive project I have discussed at various levels the question of the method to be used in contrastive analysis and in connection with it the use of a corpus.²⁵ Two discussions (one in the United States and the other at the Zagreb Conference) made me take up the question of whether or not to use a corpus in contrastive analysis.

5.1. In the first discussion, the Yugoslav project was attacked for having chosen the method which required a corpus, or at least for having decided to use the chosen method and a corpus in the way I have described above. It was suggested that the final product of our work, a monograph on Serbo-Croatian - English contrastive analysis, could be written on the basis of the preliminary "Reports" discussing the topics chosen for analysis.

5.2. These "Reports" (dealing with more than fifty topics on four levels) were written by analysts on the basis of a) general works on English; b) specialized literature on each problem dealt with; c) the analyst's own knowledge and experience, and d) work with consultants. A "Report" is not, however, the final treatment of a topic. The analyst completes his report with material from the corpus by illustrating the conclusions already arrived at and by checking and supplementing results taken from the literature.

5.3. The function of the corpus in this type of

work is decisive. The final results of the analysis of a topic (called "Study" in our project) depend very much on the material supplied by the corpus and only partly on the analyser's experience or the information received from the native adviser (informant).

5.4. Here are a few examples from the work of the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English contrastive project to illustrate the need for a corpus in contrastive analysis.

5.4.1. The computer-processed material of the Brown Corpus was not available in the initial stage of our work, and the analyser who was discussing the English possessive adjectives²⁶ (*my, your, his*, etc.) could not finish his analysis without a corpus. After he had given a sketch of the topic made on the basis of the literature on the problem, he started seeking formal-semantic correspondences in Serbo-Croatian in order to analyse them and see how they differed from their English counterparts. Here he immediately felt the lack of a corpus. He had to compile a limited pilot corpus of his own to find what he called "unconditioned translation equivalence". He gave a table containing the possible groups of Serbo-Croatian equivalent variants and the number of such groups found in his pilot corpus.²⁷ But all this was only provisional, and statistically unreliable until he used the material from the Brown Corpus. Writing his Study he was able to give us all the statistics needed for a final statement on the relations between Serbo-Croatian and English possessive adjectives.²⁸

5.4.2. The need for a corpus was even more evident in the analysis of the English demonstratives *this, these, that, those* and their Serbo-Croatian equivalents.²⁹ Here again the analyser followed the same principle. He worked on a pilot corpus of his own and the "unconditioned equivalence probability"³⁰ as well as the "conditioned

equivalence probability"³¹ shown in two tables were expressed in rather vague terms like "very little", "almost always", "according to our data" (meaning the limited pilot corpus), "quite common", etc. The figures from the pilot corpus were not statistically reliable and did not show the relations between Serbo-Croatian and English demonstratives clearly. As soon as the analyser had obtained the material from the Brown Corpus he was able to get more relevant statistics and to base his final conclusions on them.³²

5.4.3. In the initial stage, the analyser writing a report on relative pronouns³³ used a provisional corpus of 1,000 relative clauses. The result was that some translation equivalents were not represented at all. Therefore, not only a corpus but a proper-sized corpus is required; we must be interested in numerical relations if we want to draw conclusions which can be used later in pedagogical materials.³⁴

Some points mentioned in the "Report"³⁵ which need checking on the corpus³⁶ are:

- a) In which cases and how often relative pronouns are used, and when and why they are omitted?
- b) The grammatical and semantic nature of the antecedents of relative pronouns.
- c) The use of prepositions with relative pronouns and their position.
- d) The grammatical function of relative pronouns.
- e) The use of relative pronouns in restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses.

6.0 In English we sometimes find a splitting up of a complete constituent into an object and a subject. Sentences of the type "*A tyre of the car burst*" become "*The car burst a tyre*", or *The river burst its banks*"; similarly "*The car broke*

a wheel".³⁷ This is impossible in German and in Serbo-Croatian. To investigate such cases and assess the frequency, the verbs that are possible, and so on, we have to turn to a corpus or to native informants.

6.1. In another discussion³⁸ about non-omissible determiners in Serbo-Croatian which may be omissible in English and vice versa,³⁹ it was stated that it would be difficult to make a useful generalization without extensive research on a corpus.⁴⁰

6.2. Another value of the corpus in contrastive analysis, is in its educational applicability.⁴¹ If we want to use the material of contrastive analysis in teaching the target language, then a representative corpus will offer much better and more versatile teaching material than the example we use in a theoretical discussion to illustrate rules.

6.3. Although work on a contrastive project based on the T-G approach can begin without a corpus, and be successful in contrasting equivalent rules in source and target languages like PAKS, a corpus can be of great use in such projects in two directions: a) checking the functioning of the established rules, and b) furnishing examples by means of which new rules (that have not been established through intuition) can be formulated and investigated.

7.0. A well organized corpus represents the best linguistic text for the analysers, certainly better than some material gathered *a d h o c*.

It is impossible nowadays to make an analysis of some important sections of a language without exact data on distribution.

7.1. A corpus has advantages over informants⁴² in giving information about distribution. An informant, for psychological reasons, gives us distribution for one person who is always under some

pressure.

7.2. The distribution information which we get from grammars is not completely reliable either. A grammarian looks for examples to illustrate his theory. It is always dangerous for him to use only those examples he needs for his purposes in a certain stage of his analysis and to reject or neglect others. When using a corpus systematically this cannot happen.

7.3. A good corpus which is a large unit with organic continuity, and therefore a natural linguistic text which is also carefully structured at stylistic levels, can offer statistical reliability and representativeness.

8.0. From what I have said it is evident, that adopting a corpus does not mean giving up theory. In the discussion at the Zagreb Conference there was an interesting intervention. The speaker⁴³ emphasized that we had all agreed on the primacy of theory and added, in the form of a question, that there are theories which are against adopting a corpus, and when a corpus is adopted theory changes but is not given up.

8.1. There is no contradiction between theory and corpus. Just the opposite! There is a strong interdependence between the two. What is different is the degree of their interdependence and the degree of applicability of the corpus in the contrastive analysis. In work with the structuralist approach and the translation method a corpus is more or less indispensable. If we use the generative approach a corpus is not needed in the initial stage. However, the further we go in our analysis the more useful a corpus can be.

9.0. There is no need to exclude native informants either. It is always useful and may even be necessary to check theoretical results on native speakers too. (They can be considered as a

kind of a "living corpus".) This only means that we have double checking. In our work we do both. When we discussed some topics of our project and analysed them in our corpus we came to a point when we had to turn to our native informants before we could come to a final decision.

9.1. We are aware that even a very big corpus, like the Brown Corpus, can lack some items which we know by intuition ought to be discussed. Then only native informants can help. However, we never work only with informants. We bear in mind the fact that informants need not and cannot always be reliable; native speakers do not agree among themselves about what is grammatical.⁴⁴ Native informants are best used for additional checking after we have exhausted the help of the corpus.

10. Here are some points in conclusion: (1) A corpus cannot and should not replace theory; it should not come before theory nor instead of it; (2) No contrastive project can be regarded as complete before its results are verified and completed by means of a corpus; (3) Only a corpus can verify some doubtful cases of grammaticality; (4) We can assess the frequency and distribution of some forms only by means of a corpus; (5) Without a corpus we could not discuss the stylistic values, i.e. stylistic levels or registers, of some forms; (6) A corpus is indispensable as one of the three components of the "contrastive mix", without which no contrastive analysis can be regarded as complete;⁴⁵ (7) Without a corpus it would be impossible to get a more or less exhaustive listing of all items that belong to a certain class, which is very important for contrastive analysis and its practical application.

N o t e s

(This paper was read at the "International Symposium on Applied Contrastive Linguistics", at the University of Stuttgart, October 1971.)

1. R. Filipović, "Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", SRAZ 23, 1967, 5-27.
2. R. Filipović, "Problems of Contrastive Work", SRAZ 29-32, 1970-71, 19-54.
3. R. Filipović, "The Choice of the Corpus for a Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", YSCECP, B. Studies 1, 1970, 37-46.
R. Filipović, "The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project So Far", YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971, 31-79.
4. R. Filipović, ed., Active Methods and Modern Aids in the Teaching of Foreign Languages - Papers from the 10th F.I.P.L.V. Congress, London, Oxford University Press, 1972.
5. Ibid., 217-226.
6. Ibid., 206-216.
7. Ibid., 225-226.
8. Ibid., p. 209.
9. R. Filipović, ed., Zagreb Conference on English Contrastive Projects, 7-9 December 1970. Papers and Discussion, YSCECP, B. Studies 4, Zagreb, Institute of Linguistics, 1971.
10. Jacek Fisiak, "The Poznań Polish - English Contrastive Project", *ibid.*, 87-96
11. Tatiana Slama-Cazacu, "The Romanian - English Language Project", *ibid.*, 226-234.

12. József Hegedüs, "Two Questions of Hungarian - English Contrastive Studies", *ibid.*, 101-121; László Dezso, "Contrastive Linguistic Project on English and Hungarian in Hungary", *ibid.*, 124-129.
 13. J. Fisiak, *o.c.*, see note 10, p. 93.
 14. R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971, 97-100.
 15. *Ibid.*, 97-98.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
 17. Private communication of the organizers of the Project.
 18. About the numerical coding system that the Yugoslav project used in preparing the Brown Corpus see: R. Filipović, "Problems of Contrastive Work", SRAZ 29-32, 1970-71, 26-31.
 19. R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971, 146-155.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
 21. T. Slama-Cazacu, *o.c.*, see note 11, p. 231.
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. R. Filipović, "Summing Up", YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971, 241-242.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
 25. R. Filipović, "Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", SRAZ 23, 1967, 5-27.
- _____, The Organization and Objectives of the Project, Zagreb, Institute of Linguistics, 1968.
- _____, "Početne faze rada na projektu 'Kontrastivna analiza hrvatskosrpskog i engleskog jezika", Prilozi i gradja 1, Zagreb, Institut za lingvistiku, 1969, 3-25.
- _____, "The Choice of the Corpus for a Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", YSCECP, B. Studies 1, 1969, 37-46.
- _____, "Contrastive Trends in Applied Linguistics", CONTACT 14, 1970, 13-17.

- _____, "The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project" (a Paper read at the Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics, 8-12 September 1969 in Cambridge), in: G. Nickel, ed., *Papers in Contrastive Linguistics*, Cambridge University Press 1971, 107-114.
- _____, "Problems of Contrastive Work", *SRAZ* 29-32, 1970-71, 19-54.
26. Leonardo Spalatin, "The English Possessive Adjectives *my, your, his, her, its, our, their* and their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents", in: R. Filipović, ed., *YSCECP, A. Reports* 2, 1970, 94-102.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
 28. This work is in progress and the analyser is writing the study on possessive adjectives, using the Zagreb coded version of the Brown corpus.
 29. Leonardo Spalatin, "The English Demonstratives *this, these, that, those* and their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents", *ibid.*, 103-119.
 30. *Ibid.*, 106-107.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
 32. This work is already in progress: the analyser is writing the study on demonstratives applying the Zagreb coded version of the Brown corpus.
 33. Dora Maček, "Relative Pronouns in English and Serbo-Croatian", in: R. Filipović, ed., *YSCECP, A. Reports* 3, 1970, 105-127.
 34. Cf.: Mirjana Vilke, "Teaching Problems in Presenting Relative Pronouns", in: R. Filipović, ed., *YSCECP, C. Pedagogical Materials* 1, 1971, 98-111.
 35. Dora Maček, o.c., see note 33, p. 111 (4. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS).
 36. The same analyser, Dora Maček, has been doing it now in writing a study on relative pronouns, based on the Zagreb coded version of the Brown corpus.

37. E. König in: YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971, 150-151.
38. Vladimir Ivir, "Notes on Linking Verbs and Complements in English and Serbo-Croatian", in: R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, A. Reports 5, 1971, 172-183.
Midhat Ridjanović, "More on Linking Verb + Complement in English and Serbo-Croatian", *ibid.*, 184-204.
39. (E) *He is a man of great wisdom*
(S-C) *On je čovjek velike mudrosti*
(E) *He is a man of wisdom*
(S-C) *On je čovjek mudrosti*
40. Midhat Ridjanović, o.c., see note 38, p. 188 (5).
41. The Yugoslav project and a number of other contrastive projects have pointed out the pedagogical value of contrastive analysis and its educational applicability in foreign language teaching materials. Cf. R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971.
42. Several authors have expressed some doubts about the reliability of informants. Ilse Lehiste closes her article "Grammatical variability and the difference between native and non-native speakers" (in: G. Nickel, ed., *Papers in Contrastive Linguistics*, Cambridge University Press 1971, 69-74) with an interesting statement: "If there is so much variation among the native speakers and so much similarity between native and non-native speakers, the appeal to the native speaker's intuitive knowledge of grammaticality seems to lose much of its force". (p. 73).
43. A. de Vincenz in: YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971, p. 151.
44. Ilse Lehiste, o.c., see note 42, p. 69.
45. V. Ivir, "Generative and Taxonomic Procedures in Contrastive Analysis", in: YSCECP, B. Studies 4, 1971, p. 167.

Vladimir Ivir

GENERATIVE AND TAXONOMIC PROCEDURES IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

A whole range of fundamental questions about contrastive analysis can, and should, be raised before one embarks upon a large-scale contrastive project. Among the questions that the person responsible for the design of the project should answer for himself and his research staff are the following: What is the scope of contrastive analysis? What exactly does it mean to contrast two languages, or two linguistic systems? How does one isolate the linguistic systems for contrastive purposes? What is the metatheory that can bring them together most revealingly? Why should one want to "play the contrastive game" in the first place? What is the end product of contrasting supposed to be? What (practical and non-practical) uses is it expected to have?

The answers to these seemingly "ethereal" questions will have very direct repercussions on such mundane matters as decisions on whether to contrast "whole" languages or only those parts in which differences are noted, whether to base one's analysis on a corpus or on native intuitions, whether to use translation in contrastive work, whether to use this or that format of presentation, whether to submit one's conclusions to the test of classroom experience...

Implicit in most of these questions is the problem of choice of the model of description to be used in contrastive analysis. Only two competing models are available to choose from - the taxonomic model and the generative model. (Notice that these are theoretical models and not name-tags for two schools of linguistics, e.g. structuralist and transformational-generative. For the same reason, it is impossible to postulate

the "traditional", e.g. Jespersenian, model. It is true, of course, that certain linguistic schools are identified with, and built upon, certain descriptive models: the traditional school on a rather ad hoc mixture of taxonomic and generative procedures, the structuralist school on rigorous taxonomic formalizations, the transformational-generative school on a slightly less exclusive generative approach.)

Three possibilities are open to the researcher in this situation: he can either adopt the taxonomic model, or the generative model, or a combination of the two. So much has been written in recent years about the inadequacies of taxonomy that no one will seriously contemplate the first solution now; on the other hand, the virtues of the transformational-generative model have been so impressively paraded that the only acceptable excuse for failure to adopt it in contrastive work is a "practical" one, having to do with the model not being fully worked out yet, or at least not to a degree of detail sufficient for meaningful contrasting. The possibility of combining the two approaches has been considered only as a practical expedient, or an unavoidable evil - almost as something to be apologetic about. No attempt has been made to construct a legitimate, formal (as against informal or ad hoc) taxonomic-generative model.

This paper will not attempt to even outline a model of this kind. But it will try to demonstrate that a taxonomic-generative model is possible (that is, that there is no contradiction between the two terms of the compound) and that it is also indispensable for contrastive analysis (perhaps even for any linguistic description as well). That the two terms are not mutually exclusive can be seen from the following definitions which, I believe, are widely accepted by linguists of all persuasions: (1) "taxonomic", in linguistics, refers to the segmentation and classification of linguistic units, establishing their hierarchies, determining their internal structure and external function and class membership;

(2) "generative" refers to the explicit way in which the rules of a language are stated and ordered so that their automatic (i.e., blind) application will generate "all and only" sentences of that language. (The transformational component is a possible but not necessary part of the generative model.) There is nothing in this definition of the generative model that would rule out taxonomic elements. In fact, the rules of the model are necessarily formulated in terms of taxonomic units and their classes.

Let us now, in the light of these definitions, examine the possible contrastive procedures.

One such procedure would consist in taking system of forms of a given category in one language and contrasting its entire range of meanings with the range of meanings of the system of forms of the corresponding category in the other language. The results of this kind of analysis would be described under such headings as the following: "The nominal group in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Linking verb + complement in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Gender in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Relative pronouns in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Contrastive analysis of the present tense in English and Serbo-Croatian", "English intransitive verbs vs. Serbo-Croatian reflexive verbs", "Noun phrases as subject in English and Serbo-Croatian" (these are all actual titles of papers that have already appeared in the Yugoslav contrastive series). It is not my intention here to go into the merits and demerits of this approach but merely to show that taxonomy is at the root of it: the items to be contrasted are obtained by segmentation and classification. Of course, the analysis itself may have been effected both in taxonomic and generative terms, depending on the nature of the phenomenon discussed.

Another possible contrastive procedure would consist in starting from a given category in one language and moving towards the plurality of forms

used to express its meaning in the other language. Characteristic headings under which the analysis can be made will be the following (taken again from the publications of the Yugoslav project): "Linking *be* + predicative clause in English and corresponding structures in Serbo-Croatian", "The English demonstratives *this, these, that, those* and their Serbo-Croatian equivalents", "Predicative patterns for English adjectives and their contrastive correspondents in Serbo-Croatian", "The present perfect tense and its Serbo-Croatian equivalents", "Lexico-grammatical features of *must, should* and *ought to* and their equivalents in Serbo-Croatian", "Ten English modals and their equivalents in Serbo-Croatian". I will leave aside the question of what equivalents and correspondents are and how they are established and will only draw attention to the fact that taxonomy again plays a major role in isolating the elements to be contrasted and in the process of contrasting itself.

Yet another approach would be to take different linguistic processes of one language and see how they compare with processes performing the same function in the other language. In this case one would get analyses such as "On inversion in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Composition in Serbo-Croatian and English", or (to invent some possible topics) "Relativization in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Relative clause formation in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Rules of premodification in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Reflexivization in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Nominalization in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Idiom formation in English and Serbo-Croatian". The contrastive statement in this case will best be made in transformational-generative terms, but taxonomy will be an integral part of the generative statement: nouns will be subclassified into abstract and concrete, animate and inanimate, human and non-human, count and non-count; modifiers will be one-word and group, adjectival, partici-

pial, nominal and adverbial, color and size, descriptive and limiting, etc. The important thing to note is that classification is necessary, and revealing, even when generative processes are contrasted rather than static structures.

Finally, one more approach to contrastive analysis is possible: it would consist in taking meaning as a starting point and describing the different forms in the two languages in which it can be expressed. Possible headings under which the analysis might be presented would be the following: "Expression of time relationships in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Expression of the actor in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Expression of manner in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Actor-Action relationship in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Definiteness in English and Serbo-Croatian", "Expression of spatial relations in English and Serbo-Croatian". Even though no contrastive project has been organized along these lines because there is as yet no satisfactory taxonomy of meanings, it is easy to see that taxonomic procedures would figure prominently not only on the semantic side but also on the grammatical side of such a project.

My intention in the preceding discussion has been to warn against an off-hand rejection of taxonomic procedures and to suggest that they have a rightful place in a generative framework of contrastive description. The reasons for this - in addition to the basic reason stated above that linguistic description of any kind, generative or not, presupposes a certain amount of taxonomy - are two-fold: first, not everything in language is equally amenable to a generative treatment; second, in contrastive analysis it is just as important to explore all the repercussions and ramifications of a given rule as it is to present the rule itself.

These two points deserve a closer look.

There are whole areas of linguistic description

in which generative treatment is either cumbersome or unilluminating, and simple classification is both descriptively and contrastively more effective. With respect to the feature of number, for instance, English nouns are classified into those with both singular and plural forms and singular and plural agreement; those with singular form only and with singular and plural agreement; those with plural form only and with singular and plural agreement; those whose singular form agrees with singular and plural verbs (with an appropriate shift in meaning) and whose plural form agrees with plural verbs. We thus get a very revealing classification which can be usefully contrasted with a classification of Serbo-Croatian nouns with respect to the same feature; thus:

	sg.&pl. agreement	pl. agreement	sg. agreement
sg.&pl. form	<i>house, mouth,</i> ¹ <i>paper,</i> ¹ <i>family</i> ² <i>number</i> ¹ , <i>beer</i> ²		
pl. form	<i>means,</i> <i>statistics</i>	<i>trousers,</i> <i>pyjamas</i>	<i>United States,</i> <i>physics</i>
sg. form	<i>sheep, police</i>	<i>cattle,</i> ² <i>family,</i> ² <i>number</i> ²	<i>advice,</i> <i>beer</i> ¹

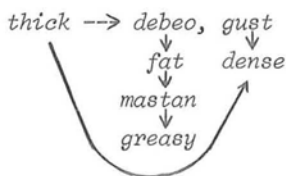
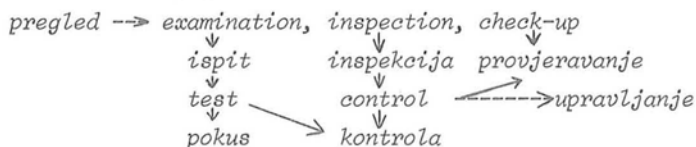
It is noteworthy that although the relation between form and agreement is by no means rigid in English, no nouns are found which would have both singular and plural forms but only singular or only plural agreement. Note also that some nouns belong to two classes (e.g. *family, number*), or alternatively appear as two lexical entries.

	sg.&pl. agreement	pl. agreement	sg. agreement
sg.&pl. form	<i>kuća, obitelj^{1,2}, broj¹, pivo², sredstvo, pidžama, ovca, policija, savjet</i>		
pl. form	<i>usta, novine, hlače, Sjedinjene Države</i>		
sg. form	<i>broj²</i>		<i>statistika, fizika, pivo¹, stoka</i>

Apart from the obvious contrastive statement to the effect that in Serbo-Croatian form determines agreement automatically and that almost no mismatching is tolerated (except for the marginal possibility involving a few nouns of the *broj²* sub-class: *Velik broj ljudi ostao je/ostali su bez krova nad glavom*), a detailed comparison of the two tables shows different categorization of individual nouns and points to numerous sources of interference.

My second example of the usefulness of segmentation and classification techniques in contrastive work is taken from the analysis of lexis. It is a well-known fact that the semantic fields of "equivalent" lexical items in any two languages are rarely the same: much more frequently the semantic field of, say, an English item is wider or narrower than the semantic field of its Serbo-Croatian equivalent. It is thus possible to group English words into those whose meaning is narrower than that of any of their Serbo-Croatian correspondents, those whose meaning is broader than that of their Serbo-Croatian correspondents, and those whose meaning is identical to that of their Serbo-Croatian correspondents. The first group would include sets like *arm, hand - ruke; market, square - trg; paint, dye, color - obojiti*;

skin, hide, leather - koža; stove, furnace, kiln - peć; stranger, foreigner, alien - stranac; cashier, treasurer, teller - blagajnik; lucky, happy - sretan; shade, shadow - sjena; learn, study, teach - učiti, etc. The second group would include examples like the following: strina, teta, ujna - aunt; stric, tetak, ujak - uncle; odgoj, obrazovanje - education; katolički, širokogrudan, širok - catholic; kemičar, ljekarnik - chemist; ministar, svećenik - minister; model, maneken - model; obući, obuti - put on; svući, izuti - take off, etc. If words of identical meaning can be said to exist at all, the third group is contrastively uninteresting. But two interesting complications are revealed by a closer analysis of the first two groups: first, some English words are both broader and narrower than their Serbo-Croatian equivalents (e.g., party - partiija, ekipa, domjenak, stranka; but partiija itself has meanings lacking in party: batch, consignment, lot and game, match); second, complex relationships hold between words in the same semantic field and between different semantic fields; e.g.,



greasy	fat	thick	dense
mastan	debeo	gust	

Finally, as examples of taxonomic syntax we can quote various surface realizations of generative transformational processes. The business of contrastive analysis is the contrasting of both generative processes and surface structures - not just one, and not just the other. The contrasts that the

learner can profit from lie pretty close to the surface. On the other hand, he can also profit from an (albeit not fully conscious) awareness of the processes followed by the two languages in reaching their respective surface structures. To put it more bluntly: there is no point in contrasting deep structures because they are presumably identical in all languages; what we can contrast are the processes that work on such deep structures and the products of such processes. It should be stressed that both the processes and the products deserve our equal attention.

Let me illustrate. If we are contrasting English and Serbo-Croatian predicative adjectives, we can note that their uses are matched in the pair of sentences:

These shoes are comfortable.
Ove cipele su udobne.

However, the following pair is different:

I'm comfortable.
Meni je udobno.

The generative statement of the difference will be made in terms of the Instrument or the Experiencer serving as the deep structure representation of the surface subject and in terms of the transformations designed to generate these particular surface realizations. Taxonomically, we will say that the surface structures are NP + *be* + ADJ in both cases in English, and that this is the structure that the learner will be aiming for. His mother tongue will present no obstacle in the first case, since the Serbo-Croatian surface structure corresponds to English (NP + *biti* + ADJ) and has been produced by the same generative processes. In the second case, the Serbo-Croatian surface structure is not only different (NP_{Dat} + *biti* + ADV) but is also related to a different deep structure and different generative processes. Since this surface structure is the basis from which the learner starts, we can predict inter-

ference and the (actually recorded) error of the kind **To me is comfortably*. On a slightly more sophisticated level we find errors like the following: **To me (it) is comfortable*. **It is comfortable to me*. In this case the learner feels that *I* is not the true subject and introduces the dummy *it*, equating another surface form of the same Serbo-Croatian sentence with the surface form of a completely different sentence:

<i>Jasno mi je (da) ...</i>	-- <i>It is clear to me (that)...</i>
	-- <i>To me it is clear (that)...</i>
<i>Udobno mi je.</i>	-- <i>*It is comfortable to me.</i>
	-- <i>*To me it is comfortable.</i>

There is one further aspect which is important for linguistic analysis in general, but which has a special importance in contrastive analysis: this is the study of usage, of actual performance, as against the account of competence obtained through an investigation of the two systems. The study of usage is needed for two reasons: first, it serves as a check on our descriptive statements and ultimately on the choice of what we are going to teach (it thus has a very definite theoretical and practical significance); it is a subject of contrastive study in its own right (it is necessary to contrast patterns of usage just as much as it is necessary to contrast patterns of structure). Theoretically speaking, the study of usage will tell us whether our rules cover everything that actually occurs in the language, whether the two languages produce something not provided for in the rules (in which case the rules will have to be extended), or whether they fail to produce everything that the rules say they should produce (in which case the rules will have to be refined). It is also possible that certain patterns of usage are idiosyncratic, not easily generated by any rules, and only capable of taxonomic presentation. From the practical point of view, we will want to base our teaching on what actually happens in the language, not on the potential products of our rules regardless

of whether these possibilities are exploited by native speakers or not. Thus, for instance, it would be difficult to formulate a rule which would generate the first sentence and not the second:

He is impossible to live with. (cf. also: He is an impossible man to live with. It is impossible to live with him. To live with him is impossible. The impossibility of living with him...)

**He is possible to live with. (cf. *He is a possible man to live with. It is possible to live with him. To live with him is possible. The possibility of living with him...)*

Certain collocational restrictions, too, can perhaps only be listed rather than generated by explicit rules:

*He took it with his bare hands.-- Primio je to golim
rukama.*

*He could see it with the naked (bare) eye.-- Vidio je
to golim okom.*

Not only does usage vary among different groups of speakers and in different situations with one language (e.g., British and American, Croatian and Serbian, urban and rural, poetic and non-poetic, technical and non-technical, formal and colloquial, etc.) but attitudes to usage vary between languages, and these should be contrasted as everything else is contrasted. A contrastive analysis of the passive voice in English and Serbo-Croatian, for instance, would remain very incomplete without a statement of usage, that is, of the appropriateness of the passive in different "styles" in the two languages. While the first pair of sentences are straightforward correspondents, the second pair are not because the Serbo-Croatian passive is here only possible but not very probable (the natural correspondent is the sentence in brackets):

*The house was bought with borrowed money. -- Kuća je
kupljena s posudjenim novcem.*

The house was bought by his sons. -- Kuća je kupljena od strane njegovih sinova. (Kuću su kupili njegovi sinovi.)

The fact that American English usage allows both the preterit and the present perfect (and perhaps prefers the former), while British English accepts only the latter in the following sentence is significant for the description of English and for the contrastive statement concerning English and Serbo-Croatian tenses:

Am. E. *I never visited Venice (so far, in my life).
I've never visited Venice.*

Brit. E. *I've never visited Venice.*

**I never visited Venice.*

The Serbo-Croatian word *angina* has the English correspondent *angina*, but while the Serbo-Croatian term is both technical (medical) and non-technical, the English term is only technical and is replaced in non-technical use by *tonsillitis*, *quinsy*, *sore throat*. Similarly, *katastrofa* has *catastrophe* as its English equivalent, but in ordinary usage its normal equivalent is *disaster*; Serbo-Croatian *funkcionar* has certain connotations (and uses) that English *functionary* does not have and these are normally covered by *official*.

* * * * *

In this paper I have claimed that while the (transformational) generative model is very powerful it is nevertheless inadequate for contrastive analysis. My proposal for a "contrastive mix" therefore includes three equally important and most closely related procedural components: generative (specifically, transformational-generative), taxonomic, and usage. None of them can be regarded as being more important than any other and no contrastive analysis can be regarded as complete before all three of them have been applied to the full.

Leonardo Spalatin

APPROACH TO CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

INTER-LINGUAL SIMILARITIES

The basic assumption of contrastive analysis is that while languages are different, there is always a certain degree of similarity between them. If there were no similarity there would be no contrastive analysis, in the same way as there would be no contrastive analysis if there were no differences. This position falls somewhere half way between that of traditional structuralism, which stresses the uniqueness of each language, and that of transformationalism which stresses their fundamental similarities.

The fact that most of what is written or said in one language can be translated into another language indicates that there must be a certain, rather high degree of similarity between languages. At the same time translation shows that the similarity is always only partial, that it can never become identity, even with cognate languages or with dialects of the same language.

Languages may be said to consist of some isolable elements and of certain arrangements of the isolated elements. Language elements are assigned to various hierarchical ranks of structural units and to levels according to certain criteria, mostly of a paradigmatic, distributional or extralinguistic nature. If this classification of language elements is carried out by a consistent application of a language theory, the results will show greater or less similarity between languages in regard of the isolated language elements and their properties.

However great the difference in the isolated language elements between languages, it is still possible to render a very large portion of meaning conveyed by the elements of one

language into another. This possibility seems to imply two things: (1) similarity between languages is not necessarily limited to similarity between elements belonging to corresponding levels in the languages concerned, and (2) similarity between languages is not necessarily limited to similarity between elements belonging to corresponding classes or ranks in the languages concerned.

THE SEMANTIC FIELD

Language elements can be assigned to the lexical or the grammatical level. They belong to the lexical level when they are regarded purely from the point of view of their collocational range, regardless of the form with which they enter into a collocation. Thus, the collocations of the words *bark* and *dog* are lexical in *a barking dog/ a dog barks/ the barking of a dog/ a dog that barks/ the bark of a dog*. (Certain arrangements of words, showing grammatical collocations, like *father-in-law*, are assigned to the lexical level because they collocate lexically as a unit rather than as the individual elements of which they consist). A word belongs to the grammatical level when its form is decisive for its collocations with other elements. Thus *I* collocates with *love* but not with *loves*. The order of collocations itself is a grammatical feature; thus, *I may not* but not *I not may*. To put it in a different way, a word contains a semantic element and a grammatical element. The semantic element determines its collocation with other words; the grammatical element determines its collocations with other grammatical elements. *Peter* does not collocate with *go* not because of its semantic properties (it can collocate with *goes*) but because of its grammatical properties, i.e. a noun-form without a suffix collocates with a verb-form consisting of the base and *-s*. The form *father* can collocate grammatically as *father loves/ I see my father/ of the father/ this father* but not as * *These father*, for which collocation a different form of the word *father* is required.

The semantic element contained in the word *father* allows it to enter into combinations such as *a father loves/ a loving father/ a fatherly love/ a father's love/ a fatherly kiss/ a father kisses/ a father who kisses/ an unnatural father* but not * *a fatherly father*. The grammatical, lexical and phonological (probably also the graphemic) levels cover the semantic field of a language.

SIMILARITY AT DIFFERENT LEVELS, RANKS OR CLASSES

Languages can be viewed as covering a certain semantic field. The more similar the culture and civilization of the users of various languages, the greater resemblance there will be between the semantic fields covered by their languages. But however similar the semantic fields covered by various languages, there will always be areas in one language without counterparts of the same rank or of the same level, or with no counterpart at all, in the other. For the American word *drugstore* there is no equivalent word in Serbo-Croatian (S-C).

The lack of formal correspondence² between two languages at the lexical level does not exclude the possibility of rendering the meaning expressed by an element in one language in the other language, lacking an equivalent element, by means of a different rank or level. The meaning expressed by the American word *drugstore* can be expressed in S-C by a noun-phrase like *a store selling drugs, shirts, cigarettes, etc.* (Similar equivalence established at different ranks are widely utilized in monolingual dictionaries).

The lack of formal correspondence at the grammatical level often has as a consequence a full or partial lack of semantic equivalence. The present-perfect verb-phrase of English (E) and the preterit tense have the same equivalent in S-C. Thus, *He has arrived* and *He arrived* will have their equivalent in the S-C sentence *Došao je*. In such cases equivalence is only partial, as only some components of the total meaning are expressed in the target

language, in this case the component common to both tenses, that is "past". The component "connected with the present" of the E present-perfect verb-phrase has no equivalent in S-C. In certain contexts, the equivalents of the two E tenses are two tenses in S-C. The present *živim* in the S-C sentence *Živim ovdje pet godina* is equivalent to the E present-perfect *I have lived* in the sentence *I have lived here for five years*. The S-C perfect *živio sam* in *Živio sam ovdje pet godina* is equivalent to the E preterit *lived* in *I lived here for five years*.

Occasionally a grammatical element in one language has no equivalent in another. This is often the case with the articles in E when a E sentence is translated into S-C. The E sentence *He lives in a house* and *He lives in the house* will most frequently have in S-C only one equivalent: *Živim u kući*, which means that S-C usually does not distinguish between a marked and an unmarked noun.

Even where there is formal correspondence between two languages, some elements present in a structure of one rank in one language may be represented by different means in the other, although they may have units of the same rank with identical structure. Thus, both E and S-C have noun-phrases with identical structure. The E noun-phrase *His large house, which is near the park...* shows the structure "modifier + modifier + head + qualifier". The corresponding S-C noun-phrase *Njegova velika kuća, koja je blizu parka...* shows the same structure. On the other hand, the noun-phrase of the clause *A little boy plays* has as its S-C equivalent a clause in which equivalence is established at ranks different from those occurring in the E clause. The modifier *a* of the E noun-phrase *a little boy* has a possible S-C equivalent at the clause level. To convey the meaning of *a* the elements figuring in the structure of the equivalent S-C clause are arranged in such a way, that the head of the noun-phrase is placed at the end of the clause. The modifier *little* can have an S-C equivalent at the

word level in the form of a bound morpheme giving the noun a diminutive meaning (*dječak* = *boy*, *dječčić* = *little boy*). Although *little boy* and *dječčić* are of the same rank (because they play the same role in clause structure, that of the subject), the modification is of different types. In E it consists of words arranged according to the rules for the arrangement of a noun-phrase element. In S-C the modification is achieved at word rank by means of bound morphemes (*dječčič-ić*) following morphotactic rules of elements at word rank.

Although three levels of language elements can be isolated in all languages, their semantic coverage varies from language to language. Thus the E emphatic construction *it is...who/that*, where emphasis is conveyed by grammatical means (i.e. by a certain distribution of language elements), is rendered in S-C, among other possibilities, by phonological means, that is by giving an emphatic stress to the equivalent of the E word that fills the slot.

The fact that two languages distinguish similar word-classes does not necessarily mean that a word-class in the one language will always have as its equivalent the formally corresponding word-class in the other. Both E and S-C have a word-class usually called adjectives, containing the sub-class of possessive adjectives, which function as modifiers in noun-phrases. Thus *my father* in S-C is most frequently *moj otac*, where *moj* belongs to the same adjective sub-class as the E *my*. But the clause *My father has arrived* is translated into S-C-as *Otac mi je došao* (=father to me has come), where *mi* is a qualifier belonging to the class of personal pronouns. The sentence can also be translated as *Ø Otac je došao* where zero is equivalent to *my* or *our*.

Languages differ in the way they utilize elements of various levels to cover their semantic fields. The verbal aspect of S-C (grammatical level) can in some cases be expressed by various lexical items in E (lexical level): the lexical and

grammatical meaning of the S-C imperfective verb *raditi* can be rendered by the E verb *work*, while the lexical and grammatical meaning of the perfective S-C verb *uraditi* can be conveyed by the E verb *accomplish*, as in *Radio je mnogo ali uradio malo*, = *He worked a lot but accomplished little*. Similarly, aspect in S-C can be rendered in E by the selection of a verb for the imperfective aspect and of a different verb with its object for the perfective aspect. The object is derived from the E verb which corresponds to the S-C imperfective aspect:

gledati = look - *pogledati* = take a look
pjevati = sing - *zapjevati* = start singing.

The following are examples of S-C lexical items having E phrasal equivalents:

starac = old man
starica = old woman
starost = old age
starmali = precocious child
staretinarnica = second-hand shop
starkelja = decrepit old man
ostariti = grow old
starati se (o) = take care (of).

S-C is richer in derivational and form classes than E while E is richer than S-C in the membership of word-classes, so that S-C words often carry a heavier grammatical load than E words. This situation makes rather dubious Fries's contention that the teaching of E as a second language should concentrate on structures and include only a minimal vocabulary³. For the speaker of S-C who tries to learn E this is a rather unsatisfactory method because what is a syntactical feature in E will often be a morphological feature in his language, which difference would interfere with his acquisition of E structure. Often a speaker of S-C will insist on an E word-form only because it is a form with

a suffix and thus comes closer to his heavily suffixed native words, preferring *beautifuller* to *more beautiful* or *going to go*. E compositions written by the students of E at the University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, show that, at a conservative estimate, lexical mistakes stand to grammatical mistakes in the proportion of 6 to 1.

This high percentage of lexical mistakes reflects the basic difference between the two languages: the heavier reliance of E on lexis which is highly specialized and extremely well developed with items often showing narrow collocational ranges and utilizing a very large number of specialized bases; and the predominance of grammatical elements in S-C attached to a much smaller body of bases with consequent wider collocations of lexical elements. This can be illustrated by the following example:

<i>dobar</i>	<i>dob-r-ot-a</i>	<i>o-dob-ri-ti</i>	<i>dob-ri-čin-a</i>	<i>dob-ra-no</i>
<i>good</i>	<i>good-ness</i>	<i>approve</i>	<i>genial person</i>	<i>consider-ably</i>
<i>dob-r-ostiv</i>	<i>dob-ro-stoje-ći</i>	<i>dob-ro-ćud-an</i>	<i>dob-ro-doš-ao</i>	
<i>grac-ious</i>	<i>well off</i>	<i>mild-temper-ed</i>	<i>wel-come +adj</i>	
<i>dob-ro-doš-lic-a</i>	<i>dob-ro-bit</i>			
<i>wel-come n</i>	<i>well-fare</i>			

As against one base in S-C there are 9 bases in E, and against 26 suffixes and prefixes in S-C there are 8 suffixes in E. (The segmentation may not be precise but still reflects a basic difference between the two languages).

The high specialization of E lexical items often leads to a situation where for two or more E words there is only one word in S-C; for instance: *light* and *easy* (*lagan*); *difficult* and *heavy* (*težak*); *song* and *poem* (*pjesma*); *turn off* (*light*), *put out* (*fire*), *quench* (*thirst*) (*ugasiti*).

THE FORMAL CORRESPONDENCE APPROACH TO CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Most contrastive analyses employ a formal correspondence approach. We have tried to show that such an approach cannot yield satisfactory results because (1) formal items at one level in one language are not necessarily always equivalent to corresponding formal items in another language, (2) the structure of formal correspondents at a certain rank can be considerably different and the correspondents can still play the same grammatical role in the contrasted languages and convey equivalent meanings, (3) formal correspondence can be simply nonexistent. We shall now try to show, through examples from a very superficial contrastive analysis of some features of E and S-C, what happens when a formal correspondence method is applied, and how misleading and incomplete the results are.

If we accept the formal correspondence approach to contrastive analysis we are faced with a number of problems. One is how to establish formal correspondences. In most cases they are established on the basis of intuition. We feel that certain formal items play similar roles in the structure of the languages concerned. Thus *the* is felt to correspond formally to *der, die, das* in German.

Formal correspondence of the items to be selected for contrastive analysis is often established also on the basis of similar labels. E personal pronouns are contrasted with S-C personal pronouns because of the similar terms used in the respective grammars to designate the two sets of items.

There is a serious question, however, as to whether formal correspondence can offer an effective approach to contrastive analysis. On the basis of what has been said on the foregoing pages, we believe that formal correspondence is far from

satisfactory for purposes of contrastive analysis, since it often establishes similarities which are of little practical value, while ignoring subtler forms of similarity which, although they may be less frequent than the formal correspondences, must be taken into account in contrastive research. An example is reflexivity in E and S-C. Both languages have verbs with reflexive objects, and such verbs are felt to be formally correspondent. But statistics show that the S-C reflexive *se* corresponds in E more often to zero or nothing than to one of the *-self* forms. Similarity of distribution assigns to the *-self* forms the role of formal correspondents, but if contrastive analysis stops at this point, the practical result will be that we will have to warn the speaker of S-C against forming his sentences on the evidence of formal correspondence if we do not want him to produce E sentences of the type *I am walking myself* or *I am laughing myself*, which do not occur in E. On the other hand, we cannot say that zero or nothing is the formal correspondent, because the S-C sentence *Umiva se* with the reflexive *se* has as its E equivalent *He is washing himself*, in addition to *He is washing*. Since instances of *se* as verb object have as their only phonetically realized E formal correspondents the *-self* forms, we take the *-self* forms as the formal correspondents of the S-C *se*. As for the phonetic zero in E where *se* occurs in S-C, we are not sure whether what is involved is a zero morpheme (a transitive verb with zero object: *I shave every morning*), or nothing at all. Thus we are faced with formal correspondence with very low equivalence probability. It is obvious that such a formal correspondence will have little practical value resulting from contrastive analysis.

Even in the cases where formal correspondence exists for a large number of instances, there are areas of similarity between the contrasted languages which are not covered by formal correspondence. Thus *my* in *my father* in E corresponds to *moj* in *moj otac* in S-C. A similar situation obtains in thousands of other instances. The conclusion is that the forms *my*, *your*, etc., have

as their S-C formal correspondents the forms *moj*, *tvoj*, etc. However, closer scrutiny reveals that while this is true for over fifty percent of cases of *my*, etc., there still remains a rather high percentage of instances where *my*, etc., corresponds in S-C to the enclitic dative of personal pronouns, to the reflexive *se*, to zero, etc. If, for purposes of contrastive analysis, we take into consideration only those items which are formally correspondent in the two languages, no useful contrastive analysis is likely to result because such an analysis will ignore, as often occurs, other similarity relationships which are not formal correspondences in the languages analyzed, although they are equivalences.

The S-C learner of E will react in the same intuitive way and select E possessive adjectives as formal correspondents of S-C possessive adjectives and will, equating formal correspondence with equivalence, produce an impermissibly high percentage of sentences in the target language on the model offered by formal correspondence which will be wrong, the mistakes occurring in the area where equivalence is no longer valid. In a sentence like *Take (the) hand out of (the) pocket*, modelled on S-C *Izvadi \emptyset ruku iz \emptyset džepa*, with zeros at the place of E possessive adjectives, the formal correspondence "*moj*, etc. equals *my*, etc." is no longer operative, and \emptyset is not intuitively felt to have the function of E possessive adjectives. This means that even in cases where formal correspondence can be established intuitively, or in some other way, the learner will have to be told not to rely on it entirely.

In some cases it is almost impossible to establish any kind of formal correspondence. This is the case with the E article for a speaker of S-C. He is quite helpless before it since there is nothing directly discernible in his language which could serve as a formal correspondent he could utilize when going from S-C to E. In such cases, for all practical purposes we have to give up the formal correspondence approach to contrastive analysis,

since the only thing we can contrast is the absence of a set of morphemes in one language with their presence and characteristic distribution in the other. Although no correspondence can be established, it is possible to establish certain equivalence relations on the basis of word-order, demonstrative adjectives and possibly some other elements. A similar situation obtains in respect of S-C verb aspect and its E equivalences. In such cases even the formal correspondence approach to contrastive analysis has to give up contrasting similar formal categories, and try to establish similarity by means of other value, saying, for instance, that the S-C imperfective *brinuti se* corresponds to E *worry* and the S-C perfective verb *pobrinuti se* to E *see (to something)*, which is definitely not a contrastive analysis of the category of aspect in the two languages.

Use of the formal correspondence approach is often due to a misconception of methods of contrastive analysis, which are often confused with methods of language description. This confusion results in the implicit conclusion that if languages are describable in terms of certain categories, contrastive analysis should be in terms of the same categories. This is a fallacious assumption because there need not necessarily be any similarity between descriptive methods and contrastive methods. The two are quite independent processes with different aims in view: one discovers and classifies language elements, the other contrasts meanings conveyed by language elements isolated in various languages. It is true that a poor description will yield poor results in contrastive-analysis, but not necessarily a poor contrastive analysis. Good methods of description, on the other hand, applied to contrastive analysis are no guarantee of good contrastive analysis.

THE SEMANTIC APPROACH

Our experience is that languages can be effectively contrasted only on a semantic basis, specifically, on the basis of translation equivalence. The trans-

lation approach produces, in addition to one or more high translation probability equivalents, a series of low translation probability equivalents, and the two together cover an entire particular semantic field. Thus, the translation of a corpus containing E possessive adjectives into S-C yields not only possessive adjectives (the result which we get if we accept the formal correspondence approach) but also personal pronouns in their enclitic dative forms, the enclitic form of *sebi* (i.e. *si*), the reflexive pronoun (*se*), possessive adjectives derived from nouns (noun: *otac*, derived possessive adjective: *očev* = father's), words like *vlastiti*, *rođeni* (one's own), etc., that is, the whole field of "possessivity"; similarly, an E corpus containing *this* and *that* will produce, in addition to *ovaj*, *taj*, *onaj*, a whole series of words containing the *ov-*, *ta-* and *on-* morphemes (*ovdje* = here, *tamo* = there, *onamo* = yonder, *ovako* = this way, etc.), the non-productive demonstrative morpheme *-s* (*večera-s* = this evening, *jesena-s* = this autumn, *jutro-s* = this morning, etc.), that is, the whole field of "demonstrativity".

As with formal correspondence, translation equivalence will not be of great help to contrastive analysis where equivalence is practically nonexistent. But one of the advantages of the semantic approach is that absence of translation equivalence is less frequent than absence of formal correspondence.

CONCLUSION

Our conclusion is that the formal correspondence approach excludes in advance the possibility of semantic similarities between language elements in various languages which are not beforehand established as formally correspondent. Thus, if we decide that nouns in E and S-C are formally correspondent, and we restrict contrastive analysis to nouns in the two languages, we exclude all instances of other word classes and other linguistic levels which are the only semantic equivalents of

certain E nouns in certain environments. Formal correspondence allows for some difference in the distribution of items selected to be contrasted, but it does not allow for similarities among items belonging to different classes, ranks or levels.

We have tried to show that languages differ widely as regards the choice and distribution of the elements they utilize to cover their semantic fields, but that it is comparatively easy to establish semantic equivalences between the fields of various languages, which seems to indicate that contrastive relationships between languages are more profitably established if their equivalent semantic features are compared than if the comparison is based on their equivalent formal elements.

Notes

1. By "level" we mean one of the main aspects of language, a phonology, grammar or lexicon. The term "rank" refers to hierarchical arrangements of language units. It is usually convenient to isolate five ranks: morpheme, word, phrase, clause and sentence.
2. By a "formal correspondent" we mean a formal element or string of formal elements showing an organized structure at a certain hierarchical rank in one language whose role in the overall language organization is similar to that of some formal element in another language. Thus in both English (E) and S-C, elements can be organized into phrases, functioning as subject or complement at the clause level, consisting of no modifier or one or more modifiers, a head, and no qualifier or one or more qualifiers. Such phrases are formally correspondent in the two languages. Formally correspondent also, for example, are adjectives because in both languages they can function as modifiers of the head of a noun-phrase.

3. "A person has 'learned' a foreign language when he has ... first, within a limited vocabulary, mastered the sound system... and has, second, made the structural devices... matters of automatic habit". Charles C. Fries, *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1945, p.3.

Vladimir Ivir

REMARKS ON CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION

Contrastive analysis and translation are very intimately connected: some translation is involved in any kind of contrastive work, and in certain contrastive projects now under way¹, translation is intended to serve as the starting point of analysis. Moreover, it can be claimed that interference, the key concept in contrastive analysis, stems from translation too.

It may be useful, therefore, to examine in what ways the two terms are related, how they differ from each other, and to what extent a corpus-based translation method can be used in contrastive analysis.

Translation is generally understood to mean a procedure for conveying messages from one language to another:

"This means that one may now define translating as 'reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the message of the source language, first in terms of meaning and second in terms of style'."
(E. Nida, 1969: 495)²

"Most frequently, translation from one language into another substitutes messages in one language, not for separate code-units, but for entire messages in some other language."
(R. Jakobson, 1959: 235)³

"... Man ... does not correlate the structures in two different codes. In practice, a good "translator" first understands the heard (or read) message acting as a speaker of the input language, and then repeats the understood message now acting as a speaker of the output language." (N.D. Andreyev, (1964: 625)⁴

"... the input forces me to recreate, in my mind, the social context of the utterance and to search my memory for the closest equivalent in the output language. Instead of the single S - R box which receives the input and generates the output, I have to have two such boxes, one for each language. The channel between them is not a mechanism which matches words and structures, though it can also do this, but one which matches the message contents."⁵
(E. Haugen, 1964: 636)

"Translation may be viewed amorously as the rendition of a text from one language to another. This is translation from the standpoint of *l a p a r o l e*: the text, the act of speech or writing, is the thing. Or it may be viewed as a systematic comparison of two languages: this is translation from the standpoint of *l a l a n g u e*."⁶
(D. Bolinger, 1966: 130)

This last quotation is of particular interest for our purpose, since the distinction that Bolinger makes between the two kinds of translation (the latter he refers to as transformation or structural translation), is the one that can, in my opinion, profitably be made between translation and contrastive analysis. That the distinction is needed will be obvious to anyone who has ever done any serious translation work, as well as to anyone who has ever attempted to contrast linguistic structures in different languages on the basis of a translated corpus. The translator is aware of the fact that he "starts with a text in one language (the "source" language) and, having decided on its universal meaning, asks how a text of equivalent meaning can be synthesized in the target language"; the corpus-conscious contrastive analyst, on the other hand, "takes the translation pair as given... [and] ... attempts to superimpose the structural description of the source language upon the target language text, in order to measure the degree of fit and hence determine the prediction of potential positive or negative transfer." (C. James, 1969: 86-7)⁸

Assuming that the Serbo-Croatian-English contrastive project will be based on a translated corpus (R. Filipović, 1969: 38), it now becomes necessary to examine the kind of material that actual translation is likely to produce, and the usefulness of this material both from the point of view of the Project as a whole, and from the point of view of an individual Project worker. It is found¹⁰ that even the freest of translations will retain a certain degree of structural fit (i.e. correspondence) and will consequently be usable in corpus-based contrastive analysis. But it can also be shown that the area of correspondence and its degree will depend on the choices the translator has made in re-coding the message of the original. Finally, some of the difficulties of locating the structural correspondences in the translated text have to be recognized. The danger here is of two kinds: one, that the analyst may establish correspondences that are false or spurious (see Ivir, 1969: 22-3), and the other that he may fail to perceive those that are actually present in the text. An instance of the latter danger is provided by the rendering of English articles in Serbo-Croatian. It is claimed sometimes that the article in English comes very close to furnishing an example of a structure in L_T that finds no systematic correspondence in L_S . However, a more careful examination of some of the translation may point to at least partial correspondences: thus Catford's (1965: 28)¹¹ example for Russian, in which the word-order is seen as a structural counterpart of the English article, is also valid for Serbo-Croatian:

<i>A woman came out of the house.</i>	<i>Iz kuće je izašla žena.</i>
<i>The woman came out of the house.</i>	<i>Žena je izašla iz kuće.</i>

James (1969: 92) has another example for Russian, also applicable to Serbo-Croatian, in which the presence or absence of the article in English is reflected in the aspect of the Russian verb:

*He wrote the letters.
He wrote letters.*

*Napisao je pisma.
Pisao je pisma.*

Such cases would obviously have to be covered by the contrastive statement. But how delicate this search for formal correspondents is in actual translated text can be appreciated, if we change our examples just a little:

*A woman came to ask if
we needed a baby sitter.*

*Došla je neka žena i upitala
da li trebamo nekoga za
čuvanje djece.
Neka žena je došla i upitala...*

*The woman came who cleans
our apartment every other day.*

*Došla je žena koja nam sprema
stan svaki drugi dan.*

** Žena je došla koja nam...*

*All day long he did nothing
but write the letters that
she had asked him to write
on her behalf.*

*Cijeli dan nije ništa drugo
radio nego je pisao (*napisao)
pisma za koja ga je ona molila
da ih napiše u njeno ime.*

The point to note is that variant recorded translations of a given structure will not be arbitrarily produced by the analyst but will rather be contained in the translated corpus with which he will be asked to deal; furthermore, that contrastive analysis, if it is to be of any significance, cannot be restricted to straight-forward correspondences of the type E passive - SC passive, E genitive - SC genitive, etc. A very important question is how long one can still claim that a correspondence of some kind exists. Are we justified in establishing the E passive verb - SC noun correspondence in the following pair of sentences:

*There can be no doubt that
the personality and the
equilibrium of the individual
are gravely threatened
by technological civilization.*

*Nema nikakve sumnje da
tehnička civilizacija
znači (predstavlja) ozbiljnu
prijetnju za ličnost i
ravnotežu pojedinca.*

I think that in this case, unlike the E passive - SC active relationship which is fairly systematic, the correspondence no longer exists. This can be shown by manipulating the translated sentence further:

...*tehnička civilizacija prijeti ravnoteži* → *tehnička civilizacija znači (predstavlja) prijetnju za ravnotežu*.

It is seen here that a transformation of the type
 NP_{Nom} *prijeti* NP_{Dat} → NP_{Nom} *znači (predstavlja) prijetnju za* NP_{Acc}
 affects the basic form of the SC verb and precedes other transformations, such as the passive transformation.

A further question connected with this is that of the E adverb - SC adjective correspondence in the same pair of sentence. Can we use this translation if our topic happens to be the contrastive analysis of English adverbs and claim that a correspondence exists at this point with Serbo-Croatian adjectives? Again, the answer is no - not because the E adverb - SC - adjective correspondence would be ruled out (cf. *the room upstairs* - *gornja soba*, *the meeting yesterday* - *jučerašnji sastanak*), but because it is here an automatic consequence of the change of the verb into a noun: *threaten* - *prijetiti* → *značiti prijetnju*; *gravely threaten* - *značiti ozbiljnu prijetnju*. The *prijetiti* → *značiti (predstavljati) prijetnju* transformation is more basic than the one that introduces modification. Once it is performed, the noun will naturally select an adjective; if it is not performed, the verb will choose an adverb. (Notice that although the E adverb - SC adjective correspondence cannot be set up here for the purpose of part-of-speech contrasting, the correspondence is perfectly valid for lexical statements about the meanings and collocations of *grav-* and *ozbilj-* and about the word-formation relations between adjectives and adverbs in English and Serbo-Croatian. This is indicative of the kind of decisions that the analyst will be called upon to make, when handling the translated corpus).

Translation equivalence serves merely to help us isolate items of structure with shared meanings

in the two languages. And this is where the use of translation in contrastive analysis ends. After that point, the items of structure thus isolated are examined formally for their syntactico-semantic properties, which are then compared, to note the similarities and differences in the two languages.

For instance, in dealing with the passive voice, the analyst will show how it relates to the active voice and to non-passive *be* + *-ed* constructions (both of the *bills are paid* and *I was impressed* type); he will examine the restrictions that affect the passivization transformation (e.g. the choice of verbs, contextual limitations); he will want to study the agential vs. non-agential passives, etc. Turning to Serbo-Croatian, he will first of all find that his corpus yields a certain number of passive constructions that correspond to English passives. He will therefore study the (transformational) origins of the construction in Serbo-Croatian, relate it to the active form, see how the passive is used, which are the areas that it covers in Serbo-Croatian but not in English (if any such exist) and which are the ones that the English passive covers while Serbo-Croatian does not, which verb-types undergo the transformation and what contextual limitations exist that may block it. The question of the agent will be considered, as well as any other questions that the linguistic material and/or available linguistic descriptions may throw up. But in his material he will find a number of other structural items that correspond (in the sense described above) to the English passive construction: they will include the Serbo-Croatian reflexive constructions, and the analyst will go through the reflexive types in Serbo-Croatian that can substitute for English passives to determine under which circumstances the English passive construction finds its natural counterpart in Serbo-Croatian reflexive constructions: Another type of correspondence that his corpus will presumably enable him to establish will be between the English passive and the Serbo-Croatian active. Again, he will explore the

possibility of making a generalized statement on the conditions in which this correspondence, rather than the E passive - SC passive, obtains. Having thus contrasted the two sets of correspondences, the analyst will try to draw certain inferences for the learning process. He will first warn that the range of application of the English passive transformation is much wider than the corresponding range of the SC passive and that, consequently, the student who wants to use English fluently and naturally will have to learn to "convert" certain types of Serbo-Croatian reflexive and active sentences to English passive forms. This will be seen as a point of interference or negative transfer which will require special care in the preparation of textbooks, course plans, etc.

To take another example, the analyst dealing with the different forms of modification in English will run across such examples as *the condemned man* and *the condemned cell* and will analyze them to show that one derives, roughly, from *the man who is condemned* and the other from *the cell for the condemned*, with interesting syntactic repercussions:

<i>the man is condemned</i>	<i>*the cell is condemned</i>
<i>the man has been condemned</i>	<i>*the cell has been condemned</i>
<i>somebody has condemned</i>	<i>*somebody has condemned</i>
<i>the man</i>	<i>the cell.</i>

Turning to his translated corpus, he will find that the differences in English are faithfully represented in the Serbo-Croatian translation:

<i>osudjeni čovjek</i>	<i>čeliја za osudjene na smrt</i>
<i>čovjek (koјi je) osudjen</i>	<i>*osudjena čeliја</i>
<i>na smrt</i>	
<i>čovjek kojega su osudili na</i>	<i>*čeliја koja je osudjena</i>
<i>smrt</i>	<i>na smrt.</i>

As a matter of pedagogical interest, he will note that Serbo-Croatian remains closer to the kernel level in the second case (*the cell for the condemned*),

<u>He is glad to teach.</u>	<u>He is sure to teach.</u>	<u>He is nice to teach.</u>	<u>He is nice to teach.</u>
He is glad.	*He is sure.	He is nice.	*He is nice.
He teaches.	He teaches.	He teaches.	*He teaches.
*It is glad.	It is sure.	*It is nice.	It is nice.
He teaches.	He teaches.	He teaches.	*He teaches.
*It is glad.	It is sure.	*It is nice.	It is nice.
* Somebody teaches him.	* Somebody teaches him.	* Somebody teaches him.	Somebody teaches him.
*It is glad of him to teach.	*It is sure of him to teach.	It is nice of him to teach.	*It is nice of him to teach.
*It is glad that he teaches.	It is sure that he teaches.	It is nice that he teaches.	*It is nice that he teaches.
He is glad that he teaches.	*He is sure that he teaches.	He is nice that he teaches.	*He is nice that he teaches.
*To teach him is glad.	*To teach him is sure.	*To teach him is nice.	To teach him is nice.
*Teaching him is glad.	*Teaching him is sure.	Teaching him is nice.	Teaching him is nice.

and that the learner will have to be taught to make another transformational step if he is to produce idiomatic English. (It is noteworthy that contrastive analysis is extremely useful at a rather advanced level of foreign language learning - e.g. in the training of translators - where many other techniques fail: because nothing is apparently "wrong" with *the cell for those condemned to death*, except that it is in most cases unidiomatic for *the condemned cell*, the teacher finds it difficult to correct the student unless he can formally demonstrate what it is that English does and Serbo-Croatian does not do in cases like this and, also, perhaps give the reasons why *osudjenička ćeliја* though possible, is not likely to occur to the student as a model on which to base his English utterance).

In discussing adjective uses in English, the analyst will comment on the syntactic potentials of certain adjectives in the predicative position: he will note that a number of predicative adjectives are expandable by *to* - infinitive phrases:

He is glad to teach.

He is sure to teach.

He is nice to teach.

But the nature of the expansion allowed by different adjectives will be different.

Translation equivalents will reflect the different syntactic interpretations of the original and permit us to establish different correspondences in each case:

On rado poučava.

On sigurno poučava. Sigurno je da on poučava.

Lijepo je od njega da poučava.

Njega je lijepo poučavati.

The pedagogic implications will again rest on the fact that Serbo-Croatian tends to stay closer to the kernel level than English. The interference of the mother tongue in the first two examples would not result in ungrammatical sentences (*He gladly teaches. He surely teaches. It is sure that the teachers.*) but would prevent the student from using adjectives in positions in which English normally employs them. In the third and fourth examples, the student would probably produce sentences that are available to the native English speaker at other levels of structure (*It is nice of him to teach.* vs. *It is nice to teach him.*) but are not the ones that we are trying to teach at this point.

It will be seen from the above examples that the proposed strategy does provide for the semantic side of syntactic description. It also provides for the use of the explanatory power of the transformational-generative approach - without necessarily committing the analyst to all the rigor of that approach.

But the approach will remain strictly formal, in the sense that structural items rather than units of meaning will serve as a starting point of analysis. A project that would keep content constant while studying interlingual differential patterning of expression units is a legitimate proposition but, it is far from clear how it could be accomplished before more is known about what the units of content should be.

From the purely terminological point of view, I believe that the labels used should also reflect the fact that the units of form are the ones that we are dealing with; that is, terms like "reflexivity" and "passivity" would be avoided and labels like "reflexives" and "passive" would be used instead. Functional entities like "subject" and "modifier" also properly belong to the kind of analysis proposed here. The fact that they may not be definable in the same way in the two languages is inherent in this approach: that is precisely why L_m has been chosen as the point of departure, with the translated corpus supplying

the necessary L_S correspondents which may or may not all belong to the same category or class as that provided by the target language. Contrasting, in fact, consists in showing how a category or class of L_T differs from any and all of the categories T and systematically correspond to it in L_S , or for that matter from anything - including lexical items - that systematically corresponds to it in L_S . When there is no correspondence, there is no S contrasting either: random translation equivalents are not contrastable. When the correspondence is zero or next to zero (as it seems to be in the case of certain article uses in English) contrastive analysis can be carried out only to a very limited extent. Complete correspondence, with all the features of the L_T item systematically reflected in L_S , is probably never achieved.

On the other hand, it is worth remembering that genetically related languages will display a considerable degree of correspondence (some of it also of the straightforward or one-to-one type) and will consequently be more easily describable in terms of a common metalanguage. One can only speculate whether linguistic universals, once they are more fully explored, may not provide the uniform metalanguage which is needed for contrastive analysis, just as much as it is needed for many other kinds of linguistic work.

N o t e s

1. One such project is the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Project of the Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb University, and the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., supported by the Ford Foundation, the U.S. Department of State, the Yugoslav Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Yugoslav Federal Council for Coordination of Scientific Research, and the Croatian Scientific Research Council.

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6. D. Bolinger (1966), "Transformation: Structural Translation", *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 9, pp. 130-44.
7. cf. V. Ivir (1969), "Contrasting via Translation: Formal Correspondence vs. Translation Equivalence", *YSCECP, B. Studies 1*, (R. Filipović, editor), Zagreb and Washington: Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb University and Center for Applied Linguistics, pp. 13-25.
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9. R. Filipović (1969), "The Choice of the Corpus for a Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", *YSCECP, B. Studies 1*, (R. Filipović, editor), Zagreb and Washington: Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb University and Center for Applied Linguistics, pp. 37-46.
10. V. Ivir, loc. cit.
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Jerry L. Liston

FORMAL AND SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS IN CONTRASTIVE
ANALYSIS¹

1. Whether to base contrastive analysis on formal or semantic correspondences has been a subject of lively debate. The problem was touched on in the research guide for contrastive grammar² and discussed separately by V. Ivir (1969a) and L. Spalatin (1969). According to these studies we are faced with a clear-cut choice between the two approaches, the formal, advocated primarily by Ivir, and the translational, defended primarily by Spalatin. There is reason to believe, however, that neither approach, as so far formulated, is adequate, in itself, for the kind of contrastive analysis contemplated³, and that elements of each may have to be used. As this statement implies, the two proposals are not mutually exclusive, nor wholly contradictory.

In the first place, the points at issue have been formulated differently in different terms and with different frames of reference by the two authors. In the second place, largely different sets of data have been presented by them: substantive examples seem in many cases to have been selected specifically to prove argumentative statements rather than to illustrate the objective efficacy of the advocated approaches. In the third place, the two authors seem to have somewhat different assumptions about the scope and nature of contrastive analysis itself, and its relation to linguistic description: Ivir (1969a:15); Spalatin (1969:34). In the fourth place, the two scholars seem to have different assumptions about the difficulties experienced by learners. The absence of detailed empirical data regarding types of mistakes regularly made by Yugoslav students of English make it very difficult to anticipate, in advance, the manner in which identifications

between analogous items in the two languages will be made by learners, especially if particular features are found only in one or the other language, cf. Nemser and Ivir (1969:4-5).

In the fifth place, the very notions "formal" and "semantic" seem to be understood differently by the two investigators. What assumptions are to be made as work progresses about the relation between grammatical and semantic description, on the one hand, and between contrastive grammatical and semantic analysis on the other hand? To what extent are grammar and semantics to be regarded as autonomous? As congruent or separate? To what extent should we assume that the vocabularies of Serbo-Croatian and English contain structured sets which can be studied contrastively? It is interesting to note that both Ivir and Spalatin cite the fact that translation is not "rank-bound" as evidence in support of their own viewpoints: Ivir (1969a:15); Spalatin (1969:26).

In this paper, a critical analysis of the above-mentioned proposal for contrastive analysis will be followed by some suggestions about contrastive semantic analysis (lexis). We hope to clarify some of the issues concerning contrastive grammar by showing the relevance of differential semantics and certain of its point of contact with differential grammar.

2.1. THE FORMAL APPROACH

In this approach, as advocated by V. Ivir (1969a), contrastive analysis in general is seemingly equated with differential g r a m m a t i c a l as opposed to s e m a n t i c analysis. By "formal" is actually meant, in this approach, formal-semantic or grammatical correspondence e.g. "tenses, plural markers, possessive, demonstratives, word order, etc." (1969a:14). A formal correspondence is defined, following Catford, as "any TL category unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc. which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the 'economy' of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL."⁴ What

exactly is meant by these terms, particularly by "economy", in the definition is not specified by Ivir, but the definition is amended later to read "in the 'economy' of the text". This amendment is needed apparently to allow for correspondences revealed by the translated corpus which otherwise might not be recognized (1969a:17-18). For example, in a given cited context, it is felt that an E. adverb corresponds "formally" to a Serbo-Croatian adjective (Ibid.).

An important point is made by Ivir about the use of the translated corpus: given an L_t English sentence and its translation into an L_t sentence, it would be dangerous to base correspondences between analogous substructures in L_t and L_t on unrestricted translation equivalence, since various paraphrases of the "grammatically literal" sentence in L_t could be semantically equivalent to the English sentence⁵. While some L_t paraphrases of this type might present other interesting formal correspondences with the elements of the L_t sentence, others would offer few, if any, useful ones (20; 23-4). Therefore, Ivir rejects translation equivalence as the "starting point" in contrastive analysis except as the foundation of the translated corpus (13-14; 18-20; 23-4).

Despite his claim to do so, Ivir does not give detailed guidelines as to how to establish formal correspondences, although he describes certain types of spurious or apparent correspondences which should be ruled out. One type can result from mistranslation of the L_t sentence or element in the corpus (22); another type can result from the analyst's failure to compare elements in parallel constructions (21-2)⁶; and still others because of "structural shifts" involved in the process of translation (21-23). It is difficult to tell how one is to apply the notion of "structural shift": shift from what? from the grammatically literal variant? Why is the correspondence E adverb SC adjective (17-18) not a structural shift? In fact, the borderline between genuine correspondences and those due to "structural shifts" appears to be indeterminate. Consider the following cited example:

- (1) (i) E. : *One student could remember the order of all fifty-two freshly shuffled cards after his first twenty-minute study of them.*
- (ii) SC. : *Jedan student se mogao sjetiti poretka svih pedeset i dvije izmiješanih karata pošto ih je proučavao svega dvadeset minuta.*

As Ivir analyzes it, "The accusative form of the personal pronoun (*ih*) is the formal correspondent of the original of-construction (*of them*), but it is impossible to say whether this is an example of systematic correspondence or a chance result of the changes that the original sentence has undergone in the process of translation" (23-my italics).

Finally, it is stated that it may be necessary in some cases to admit that a given feature in L_t (e.g. the English progressive) has⁷ no correspondent in L_s (e.g. Serbo-Croatian (22)).⁷ The implication here^s is that the L_t feature should not or cannot be contrasted with any analogous features in the L_s if an obvious grammatical correspondent cannot be^s found. This has theoretical implications which will now be mentioned.

On a theoretical level, the approach advocated by Ivir appears to be based on at least the following assumptions: 1. that instances in which a given grammatical property is possessed only by L_t or L_s are not properly a subject for contrastive^t analysis;⁸ 2. that the "units" of contrastive grammatical analysis are the same as the units of grammatical description, and that cross-linguistic grammatical correspondences can be made on an empirical basis, while interlingual semantic correspondences are necessarily intuitive (1969a:15); 3. that the units of meaning in semantics and grammar are qualitatively different and that the two disciplines are separate rather than

intersecting and interrelated.⁹

Empirical data to validate the first assumption appear to be lacking. Observations by this author and others point to the opposite conclusion, at least pertaining to the article in English and aspect in Serbo-Croatian. For example, English-speaking learners of Serbo-Croatian experience interference traceable to the existence of the article in their native language and its absence in SC. A typical mistake observed even in the speech of English speakers who have mastered SC very well, e.g. after many years' residence in Yugoslavia, is:

(2) English-speaking learner:

- (i) SC * *Došao je za vas jedan paket.* →¹⁰
- (ii) *Došao je za vas Ø paket.*
- (iii) Cf. *A package has come for you.*
(not in a context requiring enumeration/
one vs. two, three .../).

In the case of Serbo-Croatian learners of English, there is a tendency for them to identify the SC imperfective aspect with the English progressive and then to use the latter in contexts in which the non-progressive form is indicated:

(3) Serbo-Croatian-speaking learner:

- (i) E * *Every day I am paying for the milk.* →
- (ii) *Every day I pay for the milk.*
- (iii) :Cf. *Svaki dan plaćam za mlijeko.*¹¹

Ivir's view that contrastive grammatical analysis employs the same units as grammatical description is open to question. Not all scholars are so optimistic. For example, Lj. Mihailović cites what he terms the methodological paradox of contrastive analysis in phonology:

"Tako dolazimo do metodološkog paradoksa, kontrastivne analize. S jedne strane, dva sistema koja pripadaju različitim jezicima uporedljiva su i samerljiva zato što i jedan i drugi jesu jezik. S druge strane, dva sistema koja pripadaju različitim jezicima nisu uporedljiva i samerljiva za to što i jedan i drugi jesu sistem. Koliko mi je poznato, lingvistika još nije našla ključ za rešenje ove teškoće." (1969:33).^{11a}

Given that elements in a grammatical system are defined by the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations which they contract with other elements in the system, the problem of analyzing elements belonging to different systems (with different numbers of elements and types of relations) is not necessarily the same as analyzing elements within the system to which they belong.¹² The question hinges not so much on whether the contrastive analyst makes reference to linguistic units such as morphemes, constructions, etc., but on whether the data of contrastive analysis are organized systematically in the same way as the data of a given language system. In view of the indeterminacy of the distinction between genuine and spurious formal correspondences, and the interplay between grammatical and semantic expression elements, it appears that a "theoretical" rather than a "practical" orientation toward contrastive analysis may be difficult to establish.

Ivir does not explicitly discuss semantic description nor differential semantics. His remarks about translation - which he opposes diametrically to contrastive grammatical analysis as he interprets the latter - concern translation as an activity rather than as a tool in differential analysis (except in terms of the construction of the CA corpus and the avoidance of correspondences based on unrestricted translation equivalences of sentences).

2.2. THE TRANSLATIONAL APPROACH

L. Spalatin asserts that contrastive analysis should be based on semantic equivalence rather than on formal correspondences. Spalatin concedes that structural units at various levels tend to show similarity in different languages. In fact, he gives a reasonably precise definition of formal correspondence with examples: L. Spalatin (1969:36).

Yet, observing that in many cases formal correspondences are difficult or impossible to find, Spalatin asserts that semantic correspondences are probably more frequent and reliable and that they should be used instead. Examples cited in which English and SC do not correspond are: the E.article, absent in SC, SC verbal grammatical aspect, rendered by heterogeneous devices in E. and instances in which the combination of grammatical and lexical devices do not match up in the two languages.

Cf. (4) (i) a phrase vs. a word

- a) E. *Old man* SC. *starac*
- b) E. *little boy* SC. *dječaćić*

(ii) different lexical item vs. grammatical forms of the same word

- a) E. *work* SC. *raditi*
- b) E. *accomplish* SC. *uraditi* (Spalatin 29-36)

A similar example is, in fact, presented by V. Ivir in his discussion of E and SC adjectives. Strictly speaking, his practice in this instance, is inconsistent with the theory according to which "contrastively relevant" correspondences can only be "formal". Cf. E. *The animal ran wild* - SC *životinja je pobijesnila* which are analyzed by Ivir as follows: "Here, Serbo-Croatian uses a verb that embraces the meaning of both the verb and the adjective in English. In teaching, such instances will best be presented as lexical units: *pobijesniti* - *run wild*." (1969.36)¹³

Discussing properties found systematically only in L_t or L_s , (e.g. the article in English, verbal aspect

in SC) Spalatin accepts, in principle, the possibility of contrasting such grammatical categories e.g. aspect in SC with the combination of lexical and grammatical units used in the other language to express the same distinctions. On the surface this proposal seems to be as justified as the one whereby *old man* is treated as equivalent to *starac* or *run wild* as equivalent to *pobijesniti*.

Unfortunately, the translational approach proposed by Spalatin also has some defects. First, it is intended to replace, rather than to supplement the formal approach; thus, it would fail fully to exploit the generally acknowledged fact that grammatical properties are to a large extent commensurable between the two languages. While his application of the term "semantic field" to the problem of contrastive analysis is interesting (see however 3), his conclusion that the translational approach alone is usable is subjective and too dogmatic:

"We have tried to show that languages differ widely as regards the choice and distribution of the grammatical and lexical elements they utilize to cover their semantic fields, but that it is comparatively easy to establish semantic equivalences between the fields of various languages, which seems to indicate that contrastive relationships between languages are more profitably established if their equivalent semantic features are compared than if the comparison is based on their equivalent formal elements."
(Spalatin 1969:35).

It is an exaggeration, moreover, to state that correspondences between analogous grammatical features in two languages are often established merely because of corresponding labels. "E personal pronouns are contrasted with SC personal pronouns because of the similar terms used in the respective grammars to designate the two sets of items." (Spalatin 1969:32).

However, the point is well taken that the use of grammatical labels may, in fact, influence the establishment of formal correspondences and that the analyst's intuition is definitely involved.

Other examples of only partial equivalence given by Spalatin are represented by tense forms and possessives. Cf. the English perfect in *I have lived here for five years*. Semantic components of both past and present: SC present in *Živim ovdje pet godina*; E. simple past: SC preterit: *I lived here for five years: Živio sam ovdje pet godina* (p.28). The English possessive modifiers in noun-phrases correspond often to Ø or to a dative case form of the personal pronoun:

- (5) (i) E. *My father has arrived*
 (ii) SC. *Otac mi je došao*
 (iii) Ø *otac je došao* (p. 29)
- (6) (i) E. *Take your hand out of your pocket.*
 (ii) SC. *Izvadi Ø ruku iz Ø džepa.* (33).

But with respect to the category of possession one can object that Spalatin has not, in fact, given an example of semantic equivalence (to the exclusion of grammatical equivalence). While it is true that *mi* belongs formally to the paradigm of personal pronouns, it also belongs grammatically in Serbo-Croatian to the paradigm of possessiveness. Thus, for this CA topic it can be said that the analyst has discovered a formal semantic correspondence in the sense intended by the grammar research guide: namely an instance in which an English grammatical category "possessiveness" can be isolated and various SC analogues of this category found (Nemser and Ivir 1969:6-7).

Spalatin suggests that English and Serbo-Croatian are also nonisomorphic with respect to the proportion and functional load of derivational morphemes, as opposed to distinct lexical items. Data in this realm are scarce; thus Spalatin's very interesting but speculative hypothesis that in E. there is "heavier reliance on lexis", with more

bases having narrower collocational ranges, while in SC there is a "predominance of grammatical (derivational) elements" with fewer lexemes having correspondingly broader collocational ranges (30-1), must be viewed with skepticism. However, the theoretical possibility of finding such a general tendency reveals a strength of the "semantic approach" which he advocates, since the latter allows for the possibility that what is expressed grammatically in one language may be expressed lexically in another language, the resulting correspondences perhaps being contrastively significant.

Spalatin also applies the notion of non-isomorphic collocational ranges to instances in which separate lexical items - as opposed to derivational series-correspond in both languages. His remarks lead to the discussion of the possibility of differential semantics properly speaking.

3.0. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTIC SYSTEMS

The possibility of contrastive semantics has been provided for in principle, but has not yet been discussed explicitly in publications of the Yugoslav-English Contrastive Project (R. Filipović 1968:4; 1969d: 2-3).

Some suggestions will now be made regarding the possibility of the contrastive analysis of the semantic systems of Serbo-Croatian and English. In particular, it will be asked whether the problems experienced by learners in mastering vocabulary items are comparable to those experienced in mastering grammatical patterns, and whether contrastive analysis would aid in the solution to these problems.

3.1. SEMANTIC STRUCTURE

It will be assumed that within English or within Serbo-Croatian "at least some vocabulary-items fall into lexical systems, and that the semantic structure of these systems

is to be described in terms of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic sense-relations holding between the lexical items." (Lyons 1968:429). The sense of a word will be understood as "its place in a system of relationships which it contracts with other words in the vocabulary." (Lyons 1969:427). Examples of paradigmatic lexical sets in E are:

1) *knock, bang, tap, rap*; 2) *green, blue, red, orange*;
 3) *eat, drink, devour, consume*; 4) *arm, leg, hand, hair*.
 Syntagmatic relations between words can be illustrated by such pairs as *kick...foot, slap...hand, blond...hair, bark...dog* (cf. Lyons 1968:428). Among the types of sense-relations generally observed in languages are synonymy, homonymy, polysemy, and hyponymy (hierarchical structure).

In this paper I will be concerned with semantic fields, the isolation of which could be utilized in the discovery of certain lexical sets within Serbo-Croatian or within English. Since we are interested merely in illustrating types of interlingual correspondences, however, we will not, strictly speaking, make statements about such lexical subsystems. This qualification is necessary because cross-linguistic correspondences between vocabulary items seem only to be specifiable in terms of rough similarity in application.

"When items of different languages can be put into correspondence with one another on the basis of the identification of common features and situations in the cultures in which they operate, we may say that the items have the same application." (Lyons 434).

"At the present time, the notion of application, like the process of translation, rests rather heavily upon the intuitions of bilingual speakers..." (Ibid.)

This reflects the fact that the notion of application (employed in establishing interlingual equivalences between words), like the notion of reference, has to do with the relationship

holding between words and the entities or events which they stand for (cf. Lyons 1968: 427). In contrastive analysis we shall be comparing and contrasting the application of selected words or sets of words assumed to be analogous in the two languages. Since semantic distinctions are intimately related to cultural patterns - in the anthropological sense of the term "culture" - the comparison of the application of words belonging to different languages involves making reference to the over-lap between the two cultures. As is well known, while the vocabularies of different languages contain lexical systems, the two vocabularies, in some fields at least, are non-isomorphic: "there are some semantic distinctions made in one language which are not made in another, moreover, ... particular fields may be categorized in a totally different way by different languages. This fact can be expressed in Saussurean terms by saying that each language imposes a specific form on the a p r i o r i undifferentiated s u b s t a n c e of the content-plane." (Lyons: 429)¹⁴

It will be assumed, therefore, that semantic correspondences will be established more or less intuitively by bilingual speakers and/or by investigators judging by native-speaker reactions and analysis of contexts in corpus. However, such correspondences in the application of words in different languages are not "without any objective foundation, since bilingual speakers tend to be in agreement about the application of most words and expressions in the languages they speak." (Lyons 1968: 434). The determination of such correspondences is assumed to be neither more nor less "intuitive" or "empirical" than that of grammatical correspondences, which are based on intuitive judgments of contrastive grammarians with the aid of native-speaker reactions and textual documentation.

3.2. GRAMMAR AND SEMANTICS

According to the present conception, a grammar will be regarded from the semiotic point of view as a set of rules specifying permitted sign combinations, rules formulated in terms of classes of signs (grammatical classes). (Weinreich 1963: 116). It will be assumed that the grammatical and semantic descriptions of a given language are autonomous but are intimately interrelated: only grammatical utterances with a specified grammatical structure will be analyzed semantically and it will be assumed that grammatical and semantic descriptions are congruent with respect to the units of meaning with which they operate.¹⁵ This is confirmed by the fact that what is "grammatical" in one language can be "lexical" in another language. For example, the verbal concepts 'tense', 'mood', or 'aspect' are usually recognized as grammatical notions only in languages in which such distinctions are expressed by inflexional markers or particles whereby in many languages such distinctions are rendered by means of lexical items e.g. adverbs of time (Lyons 1968: 317). One such language is Vietnamese:

Tôi đi về 'I am going / go home'
Tôi đã đi về 'I already go home'
 = 'I {went
 {have gone} home'
Tôi sẽ đi về 'I am about to go home'

In this language past and future tense is indicated by adverbs cf. also *Hôm qua tôi đi* 'Yesterday I go (= went)' v. *Hôm nay tôi đi* 'Today I go'.

This conclusion, which seems to follow from the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, is reached also by E. Stankiewicz, who, using examples from Russian, shows that in the latter language different concepts can be represented by various grammatical forms (e.g. past time by either the preterite or the present) or on different linguistic levels, i.e. grammatically or lexically.

1. plurality a. by a grammatical category:

soldáty 'soldiers' *babý* 'women' (pejor.)

b. through collective derivatives

soldatnjá , *bab' ŭ*

c. by using quantifiers or
"totalizers"

herd, *flock*, *bunch*, etc.

2. male-female

a. indicated derivationally

volk 'wolf' *volčixa* 'she-wolf'
sekretar 'secretary' *sekretarša*
'female secretary'

b. indicated by different lexical
items

syn 'son' *dož* 'daughter'
byk 'bull' *korova* 'cow'

3.3. DIFFERENTIAL SEMANTIC ANALYSIS (Lexical Fields)

In addition to discussing the relation of grammatical and lexical correspondences, Spalatin refers to the "high specialization of E lexical items" as comparison with SC items, citing (among others) the following examples (1969: 31):

E. *light*
easy SC. *lagan*

SC. *heavy*
difficult SC. *težak*

E. *turn off* a light
put out a fire SC. *ugasiti*
quench thirst

But cases also exist in which the range of an English word is broader than that of the SC word, as for example:

E. <i>to marry</i> ¹⁶	SC. <i>udati se</i>	of a woman
	<i>oženiti se</i>	of a man
E. <i>battery</i>	SC. <i>akumulator</i>	chargeable
	<i>baterija</i>	dry-cell
E. <i>hair</i>	SC. <i>vlasī</i>	hair on the head
	<i>dlaka</i>	hair on the body

Whether instances of broader collocational ranges in English words are more frequent than in SC words must be determined by empirical investigation. It is clear, however, that both cases are found and could conceivably cause interference problems for the learner.

We might conjecture that the greatest difficulty for the SC learner of E. would be in those instances in which the range of the E. word is narrower, since he must then learn an additional distinction (see below). However, it would be dangerous to assume that interference in the opposite direction could not occur (for example, the use by a SC learner of *accumulator* for a rechargeable battery since *accumulate*, *acculation*, etc. exist in English in other senses).

At any rate the two types of overlap in the application of words exemplify instances in which the learner is likely "to make identifications between the L_1 and L_2 systems which then facilitate or inhibit learning." (Nemser and Ivir 1969: 6).

Three examples will now be presented in which lexical interference due to different semantic ranges of words in English and Serbo-Croatian has been observed.

E. <i>arm</i>	SC. <i>ruka</i>
<i>hand</i>	
E. <i>leg</i>	SC. <i>noga</i>
<i>foot</i>	
E. <i>finger</i>	SC. <i>prst</i>
<i>toe</i>	

In the case of *ruka* and *noga* one would expect the Yugoslav learner of English to use the terms *hand/arm* and *foot/leg* indiscriminately in each case until he has mastered the English distinctions,¹⁷ while he might also refer to the *finger on the foot* or the *toe on the hand*. Certain of these possibilities have been confirmed by observations.¹⁸ The first learner observed, whose native language was Russian, was brought to the US at the age of 10. Now 30, he still fails to make the distinctions between *hand* and *arm* and between *foot* and *leg* correctly, although he has used English as his primary language for many years and has virtually no traces of grammatical interference in his English speech. The second mistake, observed recently in Zagreb, involved a Yugoslav professional person with a few years' study of English, speaking to her American friend during an hour in which only English was being spoken. Describing an accident in which a person's foot was injured, she used the expression *finger on the leg* (in place of *his toe*).¹⁹ The lexical interference underlying such mistakes is obvious.

The third observation has to do with what can be called social formulas: set phrases used in situations such as meeting, taking leave, etc. Even in these situations, when conditions of cultural overlap are foregrounded, evidence of interference indicates that problems of relevance to contrastive analysis are involved. The following incorrect English utterances used by SC speakers were heard at an American office:

- * *Good morning, mister*
- Good morning, sir*
- cf. *Dobro jutro, gospodine*
- cf. *Gospodin Popović*

English has a suppletive alternation whereby *mister*, *Mr.* occurs with a last name but *sir* is used as a call-form while in SC the same form can occur in both contexts.²⁰

* *Good morning, Mr. Jack*
Good morning, Mr. Brown
 Ø *Jack*
 cf. *Dobro jutro, gospodine Džek.*

Serbo-Croatian does, while English does not, allow a title together with a first name.²¹

In a carefully prepared textbook it should be mentioned that even such common terms as *good morning*, *good afternoon*, *good evening*, etc. in English and Serbo-Croatian have subtle differences in their applications. For example, because of the earlier Yugoslav working hours, *dobro jutro* is used only until about 10 a.m. Thus, the American learner of Serbo-Croatian used to saying *good morning* until 12 noon, would very likely be taken for a late-sleeper because of interference from his mother tongue.

Space limitations preclude the presentation of further observations of this type.

4. SUMMARY:

A critical analysis of the so-called formal and translational approaches to contrastive analysis as advocated respectively by V. Ivir and L. Spalatin has shown that some aspects of each approach can be accepted while other aspects are invalid or spurious. We have agreed that grammatical correspondences can and should be contrastively studied, as long as "formal" is understood as "formal-semantic" (grammatical). This is best done by avoiding the use of unrestricted translation equivalence. At the same time we have found that the dogmatic insistence on formal correspondences can lead to two unsatisfactory results: 1. It will not allow for the differential analysis of interlingual equivalences in which the grammatical and lexical devices of the two languages do not match up *starac* - *old man*; *pobijesniti* - *run wild* but in which contrastive statements are clearly called for; 2. It will not allow for the differential analysis

of grammatical features found in one language but expressed by heterogeneous devices in the other. On the other hand the dogmatic view that only semantic equivalence is valid will not provide for the full contrast of grammatical features using terms about whose content there is pretty general agreement among analysts: noun, adjective, subject, complement, etc.

A consideration of the semantic relation between words with analogous lexical fields in two languages has demonstrated that elements in the semantic systems of English and Serbo-Croatian can be meaningfully contrasted. Instances in which both the Serbo-Croatian and the English word is broader have been analyzed and possible areas of interference mentioned and partially documented by observations.

In the absence of proof that the units of contrastive analysis are the same as those of linguistic description, we have assumed that both grammatical and semantic interlingual correspondences must initially be established intuitively but can be documented by informant and/or analyst responses and textual evidence. We have argued for a flexible approach to contrastive analysis in which a *p r i o r i* restrictions on the content of research should be avoided until further empirical data on types of errors made by SC learners of E are published. We have also suggested that either-or pronouncements about approach be replaced by careful statements about the linguistic factors involved in establishing correspondences at each stage in the investigation of particular research topics (cf. P. Ivić 1969: 28-29).

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper, not intended for publication, was circulated among members of the Yugoslav Contrastive Analysis Project. That paper is superseded by the present one.
2. W. Nemser and V. Ivir, "Research Guide for Project Workers I. Morphology and Syntax, "in R. Filipović, ed., in: YSCECP, A. Reports 1, 1969, p. 6.
3. "The Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English is being carried out at four linguistic levels: a. phonology, b. syntax, c. morphology with word-formation, d. lexis." R. Filipović 1969 d: 2-3.
4. J.C. Catford, A Linguistic Theory of Translation, London, 1965, p. 7.
5. By my term "grammatically literal" I mean the correspondences between the constituents of an E sentence in the active voice with a SC sentence in the active voice with a SC sentence in the active, E subject-SC nominative case subject or E passive, SC passive, etc., rather than to correspondences such as E active -SC passive (cf. V. Ivir 1969: 17 f).
6. One example cited here involves the SC gerundive and its possible correspondence, on the one hand, with the E participle and, on the other hand, with the E progressive preterite. The sentences quoted are:

E. *As he was making his way across the fields...*
 SC. *Dok se probijao poljima...*

E. *Making his way across the fields...*
 SC. *Probijajući se poljima...*

While it is wise to warn analysts against making uncritical identifications e.g. SC gerundive -E progressive preterite it is difficult to understand why it is concluded that the SC gerundive corresponds to the "whole clause" in E rather than to its verbal part alone. One could wonder also if there is not a correspondence here between SC *probijati se* and E *to make one's way across* cf. SC *probijesniti* - E *to run wild* Ivir 1969b: 36; See Note 13 below.

7. Cf. E. I paid McSwiggin..., and I got what I was paying for...

SC. *Ja sam plaćao McSwiggina... a vjerujte da mi je to isplatio.*

Quoting some of Ivir's comments: "It would be wrong to underline *se isplatio* as a correspondent of *was paying* in this example... One could at this point legitimately ask whether the Serbo-Croatian text is a translation equivalent of the English text above; ... one answer might be that they are not equivalent, that the meaning contributed by the progressive tense has not been included in the translation, and that it cannot normally be included in Serbo-Croatian."

8. Cf. Nemser and Ivir 1969: 4-5.
9. This is implied by the dichotomy insisted upon by Ivir in several places, between "contrastive analysis" of grammatical properties as realized by formal signals, and "translation". The latter seems to be conceived largely as an activity cf. the translation of "War and Peace" rather than as an analytical tool. Ivir clearly opposes grammatical analysis to the type of semantic equivalence which is generally involved in semantic description, implying that there is a sharp dividing line between the two. See Note 15.
10. The convention followed here and elsewhere in this paper is: incorrect or deviant expressions are preceded by an asterisk and followed by an arrow leading to the correct expression.
11. Cf. M. Vlatković, "Elements of Aspectives in English", in: R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, A. Reports 1, 1969, p. 70.
- 11a. The translation reads:
In connection with the methodology of contrastive analysis, the following paradox arises: On the one hand the only reason why the two language systems are at all comparable is that we are dealing with language, on the other hand these systems cannot be compared in that we are dealing with systems related to different languages. To our knowledge, linguists have not as yet been able to find a solution to this problem. (Der Hrsg.)

12. This follows from a basic assumption of structural linguistics "each language is regarded as a *s y s t e m* of *r e l a t i o n s* more precisely, a set of inter-related systems, the elements of which - sounds, words, etc. - have no validity, independently of the relations of equivalence and contrast which hold between them." J. Lyons 1969: 50.
13. It is possible that such many - to-one correspondences between E and SC verbal expressions are systematic; cf. E *to make one's way across*, SC *probižati se* V. Ivir 1969a: 21; see Note 6 above.
14. Cf. E. Stankiewicz 1962: 2: "Language as a system does not convey experience but provides the formal grooves, the units and constructions through which experience is communicated in verbal messages. In the words of Sapir, it 'reflects not so much our intuitive analysis of reality as our ability to compose that into a variety of formal patterns.' (Language 1921: 125).
15. For a criticism of the view that particular semantic features can be assigned unambiguously to the grammatical or semantic components of linguistic description, see U. Weinreich 1966: 404f. For the opposite view, see J. Katz and J. Fodor 1964: 517-518.
16. This example was first brought to my attention by M. Vilke.
17. The identification in such cases is between the referent of *ruka* for example, and either that of *hand* or that of *arm*. The student apparently learns either *arm* or *hand* first as equivalent to *ruka*. A contrastive description would present both together, warning the student of the additional distinction in English.
18. In the case of *ruka* and *noga* the observations of interferences reported here have been in the speech of a native speaker of Russian speaking English. However, Russian *ruká* and *nogá* are exactly parallel to the corresponding SC words with respect to the distinctions being discussed. I have benefited from discussions with R. Filipović regarding examples of this type.

19. On correspondences of the type SC. Ø *prst* - E *his toe* see L. Spalatin 1969: 33.
20. *Mr.* does occur as a call-form in American English but is sub-standard and very impolite. It is normally excluded.
21. *Gospodine Džek* is stylistically more familiar than *Gospodine Brown*; SC thus has a three-member opposition in address-forms:
 1. first name without title hearer referred to by *ti*
 2. title and first name hearer referred to by *vi*
 3. title and last name hearer referred to by *vi*.

Expressions of the type *Gospodine Džek* are frequently heard in the speech of bilingual Yugoslavs in Zagreb speaking English.

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Zeljko Bujas

DERIVATION IN SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH

PART ONE: A Brief survey of Standard Grammatical
Statements

1.0. This report deals exclusively with lexical derivative morphemes, as opposed to inflectional morphemes with a grammatical function (of the type: *-ly*, *-s*, *-ed*, etc.).

1.1. There is considerable parallelism between the basic inventory of lexical derivation patterns in English and Serbo-Croat:

Type of Derivation		English	Serbo-Croat
Nominal	Prefixal	<i>mis-fortune</i>	<i>ne-sreća</i>
	Suffixal	<i>employ-ee</i>	<i>namješten-ik</i>
Adjectival	Prefixal	<i>un-pleasant</i>	<i>ne-prijatan</i>
	Suffixal	<i>earth-en</i>	<i>zemlj-an</i>
Verbal	Prefixal	<i>dis-arm</i>	<i>raz-oružati</i>
	Suffixal	<i>wid-en</i>	<i>šir-i-ti *</i>
Adverbial	Prefixal	<i>super-naturally</i>	<i>nad-naravno</i>
	Suffixal	<i>quick-ly</i>	<i>brz-o</i>

* With the following components:

- stem ending - suffix

1.1.1. It should be pointed out that the standard textbook description of Serbo-Croat - with its neogrammarian emphasis upon a historical approach - assigns prefixal formation to composition, probably because of its greater (historically viewed) semantic independence.

1.11.1. The above survey, however, ignores this in favour of a classification following the standard English description. The resulting table reflects, we believe, more realistically the diagnostic (analytical) and productive (synthetic) procedures of the Serbo-Croat learner of English.

PART TWO: Contrastive Analysis

2.1. A full coverage of derivation inventories would require compiling formidable lists of affixes for either language. Thus, Zandvoort's "Handbook of English Grammar" (henceforth: ZAND) - in spite of its modest volume and ambitions - provides a total of 98 affixes (34 prefixes and 64 suffixes). A similar work for Serbo-Croat, "Grammatika hrvatskoga ili srpskog jezika" by Brabec, Hraste and Živković (henceforth: BHŽ), lists in excess of 200 affixes (165 suffixes, 45 prefixes and a number of infixes).

2.2. However, the present author does not see much point in such compilatory efforts. The lists thus obtained would be sure to include a sizable share of stylistically marked derivatives (hypocoristics, jocular appellations, terms of opprobrium, rusticalia, etc.). As such, they would be of questionable value for the practical teaching of English - regardless of the contrastive patterns possibly revealed through them.

2.3. This deliberate limitation of the material under investigation to high-frequency items (comparatively at least) absolves us from the requirements of a total contrasting coverage: permutational (every Ls item with each Lt item) and categorial (every aspect of Ls items with all aspects of Lt items).

2.4. We, thus, adopt a pragmatic approach. First, examples illustrating affixal lists in ZAND and BHŽ are mentally, ad hoc, translated. Both the Ls-to-Lt and Lt-to-Ls directions are tried. Use is then made of previously compiled observations on the English translation equivalents of Serbo-Croat affixes and vice versa. The compilations in question are either

a personal effort (by the present researcher) or result from a number of supervised undergraduate essays. Both dictionary material and parallel (Serbo-Croat and English) texts have served as sources for them.

2.5. The translation equivalents thus obtained can be classified into several contrastive-patterning categories. Their boundaries will depend on what we understand by contrastive patterning.

2.51. Formally interpreted, this will mean the parallel bilingual presence - or absence - of structures on the same level of description: thus, a prefix in Serbo-Croat, like *ne-*, opposite the English *un-*, *non-*, *in-*, etc.

2.51.1. Psychologically, this formal interpretation is closer to the "first-go" learning efforts, whose frequent and significant deceptive grammatical analogies are the primary source of errors that contrastive analysis proposes to diagnose and aid in eliminating.

2.52. A semantic interpretation of patterning allows these structures to be rank-shifted or to adopt a completely different makeup - as long as they operate as patterns (i.e. show unifying regularity of composition) and meet semantic requirements (i.e. are acceptable translation equivalents). Thus, for instance, the same (cf. 2.51.) Serbo-Croat prefix *ne-* may operate in contrast to the English groups *absence of* / *lack of* / *want of* and *failure to*.

2.52.1. This semantic interpretation is psychologically closer to the "second-go" learning efforts, with their groping away from the immediate ("grammatical") item-for-item transfer. As a tool, it will, consequently, prove effective for the post-diagnostic, corrective, statements of contrastive analysis.

2.6. We envisage, as logically (permutationally) possible, the following five contrastive-patterning categories (formal or semantic):

Category	Serbo-Croat	to	English
1.	+		-
2.	+		+
3.	+		(+)
4.	-		-
5.	-		+

2.61. The plus signs mark the presence, minus signs the absence of the patterning in the other language. The symbol (+) indicates the presence of overlapping (primarily phrasal) patterns.

2.62. This researcher has adopted the Ls-to-It direction of both the analysis and descriptive statement, because he is a firm believer in the greater teaching and learning efficiency of this approach, harnessing, as it were, the powerful patterning habits of the mother tongue and the irrepressible, constant process of the learner's mental translation from his native language.

2.71. First Category

SERBO-CROAT DERIVATION PATTERNS HAS NO
CORRESPONDENT IN ENGLISH:

naprst-ak : *thimble*
opleć-ak : *bodice, chemis-ette*
teleć-ak : *pack, knap=sack*
čest-it : *honest, righte-ous*
plemen-it : *noble, noble=minded, high=minded*
razbor-it : *sens-ible, judici-ous,*
reason-able, prud-ent

2.72. Second Category

SERBO-CROAT DERIVATION PATTERNS HAVE A
CORRESPONDENT IN ENGLISH, EITHER ISOTAXIC
(SIMILAR IN STRUCTURE AND ORDER) OR
ANISOTAXIC (DIFFERENT IN STRUCTURE AND
ORDER):

2.72.1. Isotaxic

	Vb + nje		Vb + ing
e.g.	<i>hoda-nje</i>	:	<i>walk-ing</i>
	<i>kupova-nje</i>	:	<i>buy-ing</i>
	<i>crtā-nje</i>	:	<i>draw-ing</i>

2.72.11. Evidently, these examples are acceptable only in a pragmatic (simplified, practical-teaching) approach which consciously disregards such possible non-patterning translation equivalents as *walk* (n), *buy* (n) or *purchase* (n), all bare-stem, and the affixal *draughtsmanship*. A strict formal interpretation would, doubtless, treat these cases as overlap and assign them to the third category.

2.72.2. Anisotaxic

a)	N + -ik	:	N + N	(grove/forest/orchard)
e.g.	<i>bor-ik</i>	:	<i>pine grove, pine forest</i>	
	<i>šljiv-ik</i>	:	<i>plum orchard</i>	
b)			Adj + Adj + N	(great + big; big + ugly)
	N + -etina:		N (mammoth) + N	
			N (monster) + of + a + N	
e.g.	<i>rib-etina:</i>		<i>great big fish</i>	
			<i>big ugly fish</i>	
			<i>mammoth fish</i>	
			<i>monster of a fish</i>	
c)			Num + -odd	
	Num + -ak :		Num + or + so	
			Num + or + thereabouts	
			<i>some/about</i> + Num	

e.g.

thirty-odd
thirty or so
thirty or thereabouts
some thirty, about thirty

2.73.

Third Category

BEING WIDER, THE SERBO-CROAT DERIVATION PATTERN CONTRASTS WITH NO SINGLE ENGLISH PATTERN-COVERING INSTEAD SEVERAL SEMANTICALLY NARROWER (OFTEN RANK-SHIFTED) PATTERNS, OR OVERLAPPING WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER PATTERNS, IN THAT LANGUAGE.

a)

Adj + *-ness*
 N + *-ity/-ty/-tion/etc.*

(descript.)

Adj + *-ost*:

Adj + N (quality/character/
 etc.)
being + Adj
 Adj + *manner*

e.g. *blag-ost* : *mild-ness*
 smjel-ost : *audac-tiy*
 Životn-ost : *existential quality*
 opravdan-ost : *being justified*
 ležern-ost : *relaxed manner*

b)

bez- + Adj : N + *less*

e.g. *bez-mesan* : *meat-less*
 bez-bolan : *pain-less*
 (!) *bez-obziran* : * *consideration-less*
 (correct: *ruthless*,
 inconsiderate)

- c) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{INFpres/perf+ one's + fill} \\ \text{na-+INF+ se: INFpres/perf+ enough} \\ \text{to have (+had)+ enough+of+ Vbing} \\ \text{idiomatic} \end{array} \right.$
- e.g. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to dance/have danced one's fill} \\ \text{naplesati se: to dance/have danced enough} \\ \text{to have/had/enough of dancing} \\ \text{naspavati se: to have/had/a good sleep} \\ \text{to have/had/a good night's rest} \end{array} \right.$

2.74. Fourth Category

ABSENCE OF A DERIVATION PATTERN FROM BOTH SERBO-CROAT AND ENGLISH.

Evidently, this merely hypothetical category is meant simply as a "combinatorial filler", to secure all the possible pairings in terms of presence or absence of items.

Finding examples for this category is likewise both unnecessary and impossible. Unless, of course, we take some alien derivation feature from a third language and demonstrate its absence from both Serbo-Croat and English.

2.75. Fifth Category

SERBO-CROAT HAS NO FORMAL CORRESPONDENT TO AN ENGLISH DERIVATION PATTERN.

descript.phrase : N+ *-wise*

e.g. *u smjeru kazaljke*
na satu : *clockwise*

PART THREE: Teaching Implications

3.1. In the beginning and early intermediate stages of learning English (up to, say, a 2.000-words vocabulary), there may be little need to utilize any observations, resulting from the contrastive analysis

of derivation in Serbo-Croat and English.

Beyond this stage, however, as the learner realizes the deplorable absence of "lexical" or "vocabulary" rules in the standard textbook and courses - and parallel with his budding ability to draw (often wrong) analogies - the following general suggestions may be offered to the teacher of English or the textbook (course) dictionary in the Serbo-Croat areas of Yugoslavia:

3.21. You should first intervene in third-category cases where the learner is liable to misinterpret a frequent and easy-to-observe pattern of derivation correspondence (e.g. *blag-ost:mild-ness*) as a foolproof rule.

3.22. Warned of the limited applicability of formal derivation correspondences, the learner should now be made aware of the operation of semantic (rank-shifted) correspondences.

3.23. This will make the learner more receptive to a regular application of such correspondences (patterns) to second-category examples, i.e. for new productive, vocabulary-expanding learning habits.

3.24. The approach should be positive (i.e. based primarily on the presence, not absence, of items), and from Serbo-Croat. Consequently, the first and the fifth category may, for practical purposes, be disregarded by the teacher.

3.3. On a more applied level, the obvious suggestions are:

3.31. Draw up lists of high-frequency Serbo-Croat derivation patterns and their formal (same-level) English correspondents.

3.32. Compile lists of non-formal (rank-shifted, periphrastic) English correspondents. (For this, use translation, dictionaries and available concordances.)

3.33. Make use of these lists (cf. 3.31. and 3.32.) to design exercises specifically aimed at acquiring vocabulary-expansion habits based on patterns of formal and, especially, non-formal correspondents.

3.34. Design translation exercises which will activate the learner in observing further instances of productive patterning among translation equivalents.

3.35. Pay special attention to "deceptive cognates" (Cf. V. Ivir, "Serbo-Croat - English False Pair Types", SRAZ, 25-26, 1968. pp. 149-159).

Ljiljana Mihailović

ON DIFFERENCES IN PRONOMINALIZATION IN ENGLISH
AND SERBOCROAT

We shall deal with a case of pronominalization where English discriminates between indefinite /specified and indefinite/unspecified in the referential indices of noun phrases when pronominalizing, and Serbocroatian does not.¹ The terms *s p e c i f i e d* and *u n s p e c i f i e d* have been borrowed from Carlota S. Smith,² who, in connection with selectional restrictions between determiners and relative clauses, establishes three classes of determiners: *U n i q u e*, *S p e c i f i e d* and *U n s p e c i f i e d* in order to distinguish them from the traditional definite and indefinite determiners. We shall not consider all the intricacies of a bundle of problems that involve reference,³ nor shall we consider the theoretical justification for establishing referential indices, but we shall assume that NPs have such features as definite vs indefinite, specified vs unspecified, animate vs inanimate, etc. in their referential indices.

Before tackling the rules of pronominalization we shall first recapitulate some well-known facts. Definite NPs are proper names and NPs with the determiners: *the, this, these, that, those*. Indefinite noun phrases are NPs with the indefinite determiners: *a, any, all, some*, etc. Definite NPs are specified, by definition; while indefinite NPs can be either specified or unspecified.

The most general definition of pronominalization is "deletion under identity".⁴ The definite pronouns being the most fundamental of anaphoric devices, we shall first state the rules of pronominalization that produce definite pronouns both in E and SC:

- (I) If two NPs : NP_a and NP_b (NP_a being the antecedent of NP_b) are coreferential, then NP_a can be used to pronominalize NP_b .

- (1) *Mary washed Tom and gave Tom his supper.* *Meri je oprala Toma i dala Tomu večeru.*
- (2) *Mary washed the boy and gave the boy his supper.* *Meri je oprala dečaka i dala dečaku večeru.*

The underlined NPs in (1) are coreferential and identical in all their features, so the first NP is used to pronominalize the second NP (in SC the case marker is different, which is not relevant for this discussion). The same holds good for the NPs in (2).

- (3) *Mary washed Tom and gave him his supper.* *Meri je oprala Toma i dala mu večeru.*
- (4) *Mary washed the boy and gave him his supper.* *Meri je oprala dečaka i dala mu večeru.*

In (1) and (2) both pairs of NPs are identical in all their features and they are definite, but in (5) and (6) the NPs are not identical in all their features though it is intuitively felt that they are coreferential.

- (5) *He has a red car. On ima crvena kola.*
- (6) *When did he buy the car?⁵ Kada je kupio (ta) kola?*

Lakoff⁶ states the conditions for coreferentiality in the following rule:

- (II) "(272) Given two NPs, NP_a and NP_b :

If NP_a is an antecedent of NP_b and if NP_b is definite, then NP_a and NP_b are presupposed to be coreferential."⁷

As can be seen the conditions for coreferentiality are met in (5) and (6), so the NP in (5) is

used to pronominalize the NP in (6).

- (7) *When did he buy it? Kada ih je kupio?*

In the above examples we have considered only NPs that have an individual referent and the feature [+ specified] in their referential indices, irrespective of whether they are definite or indefinite. But in:

- (8) *He hasn't got a car. On nema kola.*

no referent can be established for the underlined NP and (9) could not be a sequence to (8) in the E sentence.

- (9) * *Why doesn't he buy the car? Zašto ne kupi (ta) kola?*

The only acceptable sequence is:

- (10) *Why doesn't he buy a car? Zašto ne kupi kola?*

As the NPs in (8) and (10) are indefinite, the condition for coreferentiality is not met, and consequently the NP in (8) cannot be used to produce definite pronominalization of the NP in (10). The only acceptable pronoun in E would be *one*.

- (11) *Why doesn't he buy one? Zašto ih ne kupi?*

Before producing more evidence, we shall propose a tentative rule for the insertion of the indefinite *one*:

- (III) Rules which produce the insertion of the indefinite *one* in E do not require identity of reference in NP_a and NP_b, NP_a and NP_b being both indefinite and unspecified.

In SC no discrimination is made between rule (I) and rule (III).

In (5) and (8) there is something in the sentences themselves that indicates whether the referent is established or not. Namely, if we state that somebody has something there is no doubt

that the object exists and that at least one of the participants in the discourse knows of it; and vice versa, if it is established that someone does not have an object, then no referent can be established. In positive existential sentences introduced by a non-locative *there*, the NP in the function of subject is established as specified.

- (12) *There is a book on my desk.* *Na mome stolu ima knjiga.*
 (13) *Will you pass the book to me, please?* *Molim te, dodaj mi knjigu.*

So the condition for definite pronominalization is met:

- (14) *Will you pass it to me, please?* *Hoćeš li mi je, molim te, dodati?*
 (15) *I wish I had a car.* *Voleo bih da imam kola.*

In (15) the clause containing the indefinite NP is an embedded clause and it is dominated by (subordinate to) a modal construction which marks it as being counterfactual.⁸ As the NPs in (15) and (16) have no referent and therefore must have the feature *u n s p e c i f i e d* in their referential indices, the only way to pronominalize the E NP in (16) is by inserting *one*.

- (16) *Why don't you get a car?* *Zašto ne nabaviš kola?*
 (17) *Why don't you get one?* *Zašto ih ne nabaviš?*

There are sentences where the NP can be interpreted either as specified or unspecified. Some further knowledge is required in order to pronominalize correctly.

- (18) *She wants to marry a Swede.* *Želi da se uda za Švedjanina.*

If the NP *a Swede* is understood as a description of a specific individual, i.e. *a certain Swede*, then

the following reply to this statement is acceptable:

- (19) *Where did she find him?* *Gdje ga je našla?*

But if the NP *a Swede* has not been established as an individual having a specific referent, but refers to one of a set, then the phrase must be pronominalized by inserting *one*, *him* being unacceptable. In SC the definite pronoun is used in both cases.

- (20) *It is not easy to find* *Nije ga lako naći.*
 one.

In (20) *one* has been substituted for the indefinite and unspecified NP *a Swede*.

- (21) *It is not easy to find* *Nije lako naći*
 a Swede. *Švedjanina.*
- (22) *What about her boy-* *Šta je sa njenim*
 friend if she has one? *dečkom ako ga ima?*

In (22) the NP which has a possessive determiner can be interpreted as unspecified only in the context of the if-clause which contains an unspecified NP. If we established:

- (23) *What about her boy-* *Šta je sa njenim*
 friend if she has a *dečkom ako ona ima*
 boy-friend? *dečka?*

as the underlying structure of (22), we should have the possessive in the first NP and the indefinite article in the second NP. It seems to us that although (23) is acceptable as one of the intermediate structures in the process of transformational rules, the rules for the insertion of *one* would not be sufficiently general if we accepted (23) as the underlying structure of (22). Therefore we propose the following underlying structure for the two NPs in (22):

- (24) *What about someone who is*
 her boy-friend if she has
 someone who is her boy-friend?

E. Bach⁹ develops rules that derive nouns from underlying relative clauses which are based on the predicate nominal constituents, elements such as *someone, something, the one* being in the base of such derivations.¹⁰ Transformational rules for the derivation of NPs from relative clauses based on indefinite pronouns delete the indefinite pronoun and the copula *is*, leaving only the predicate nominal constituent. So we are left with two identical NPs which have in their referential indices [-definite, -specified]. If we delete the second NP and insert *one* we get (22):

What about her boy-friend if she has one?

So far we have dealt with NPs that either had an individual referent that could be established or NPs where the individual referent could not be established. We shall now consider NPs where the referent is established in the mind of the speaker. In

- (25) *If you buy a car I'll drive it.* *Ako kupiš kola ja ću ih voziti.*

though the NP *a car* does not have an individual referent it is used to pronominalize the second NP producing a definite pronoun. In (25) the reference is established in the mind of the speaker, so that the second NP can be coreferential:

- (26) *If you buy a car I shall drive the car.* *Ako kupiš kola ja ću voziti kola.*

in which case the conditions for definite pronominalization are met and (25) is an acceptable English sentence. On the other hand in:

- (27) *If John buys a car, Mary will buy a car.* *Ako Džon kupi kola, Meri će kupiti kola.*

although there is a possibility of establishing reference in the mind of the speaker for the first NP, the NP in the containing clause and the NP in the contained clause cannot be coreferential, as they do not refer to the same in-

dividual referent, so that the conditions for definite pronominalization are not met and the deletion of the second NP entails the insertion of *one*.

- (28) *If John buys a car, Ako Džon kupi kola,*
Mary will buy one. i Meri će ih kupiti.

Even in

- (29) *I wish I had a car. Voleo bih da imam kola.*

where the NP in the contained sentence is dominated by *I wish* which presupposes something that is hypothetical, reference can be established in the mind of the speaker and the repeated NP can be definite and in consequence coreferential.

- (30) *Who would drive the car? Ko bi vozio (ta) kola?*

So the conditions for definite pronominalization are met:

- (31) *Who would drive it? Ko bi ih vozio?*

On the other hand if the reference is not established in the mind of the speaker, (32) could be a continuation of (29):

- (32) *Why don't you get a car? Zašto ne nabaviš kola?*

in which case *one* is inserted after the deletion of the underlined NP.

- (33) *Why don't you get one? Zašto ih ne nabaviš?*

We shall now try to formulate the rule for the insertion of the indefinite pronoun *one*.

- (IV) Given two NPs; NP_a and NP_b where the head nouns are identical lexical items, if the NP_b is indefinite and unspecified then the two NPs cannot be coreferential, so the NP_b is deleted and the indefinite *one* is inserted.

Considering the following example and keeping in mind both the rules for definite and indefinite pronominalization:

- (34) *You are lucky to have a family.* *Srećan si što imaš porodicu.*

And you are lucky not to have one. *A ti si srećan što je nemaš.*

it seems to us that both under the rules of definite and the rules for indefinite pronominalization, it is the referential index of NP_D (the repeated noun phrase) that determines the choice of the pronoun.¹¹ In the sentence underlying (34) the first NP is indefinite, but it is specified, the repeated NP is indefinite and unspecified:

- (35) *You are lucky to have a family.*
You are lucky not to have a family.

so no coreference can be established, so that the repeated NP is decisive for the choice of the pronoun *one*.

It would be in place to mention that whereas definite pronouns have distinctive forms for animate/inanimate (*it* vs. *he*, *she*) and for masculine/feminine (*he* vs. *she*), the indefinite *one* does not distinguish either animate/inanimate or masculine/feminine, being a pronoun susceptible only to the contrast of definite/indefinite and specified/unspecified in the referential indices of the NPs it substitutes.

SC does not have two rules for pronominalization, the definite pronouns meeting both the rules for definite and indefinite pronominalization. We should like to mention that SC can sometimes have zero both as an equivalent of an E definite pronoun and the indefinite *one*.

- (36) *John hasn't got a pen.* *Džon nema pero.*
 (37) *I'll give him one.* *Ja ću mu (ga) dati.*
 (38) *There's no armchair in his room.* *Nema naslonjače u njegovoj sobi.*
 (39) *There should be one.* *Trebalo bi da \emptyset bude.*

- (40) *Could you lend me a* *Da li biste mi mogli*
 box of matches. *pozajmiti kutiju šibica.*
 If I had one, I'd *Da Ø imam uzajmila bih*
 lend it to you. *ti Ø.*

The zero form in SC can be used as a variant of the definite pronoun usually after certain verbs which allow optional deletion of the NP in the function of object, such as *dati*, *pozajmiti*, *kupiti*, *doneti*, etc. The English counterparts of the stated verbs do not usually allow the deletion of the object NP.

The fact that SC NPs behave differently from E NPs under pronominalization is of theoretical as well as practical interest. Further research concerning referential indices of NPs in SC would yield results that would probably shed more light on problems of universals in grammar.

The practical implications of the subject treated above are obvious. The treated point of contrast in the two languages will result in predictable interferences, and it should be tackled so that the difference between specified and unspecified indefinite NPs is made clear. Carefully constructed contrastive drills should follow explanations and illustrations of the rules.

From the point of view of a SC learner of English, the so-called "personal pronoun paradigm" should include the indefinite pronoun *one*, as the SC counterpart of *one* is to be found in the personal pronoun paradigm. In this way the learner would find the counterparts of the L_g language elements where he expects to find them and before he commits errors.

N o t e s

1. Further in the text *n o u n p h r a s e s* will be referred to as NPs, *E n g l i s h*, as E, and *S e r - b o c r o a t i a n*, as SC.

2. Carlota S. Smith, "Determiners and Relative Clauses in a Generative Grammar of English", *Language* 40, 1964, 37-52.
3. In his unpublished paper "What do Referential Indices Refer To?", 1968, p. 2, Lauri Karttunen mentions a number of features in noun phrases that involve the idea of reference and modification:
 - (i) definite vs. indefinite noun phrases,
 - (ii) generic vs. non-generic noun phrases,
 - (iii) specific vs. non-specific noun phrases,
 - (iv) anaphoric vs. deictic noun phrases and pronouns, and
 - (v) restrictive vs. appositive relative clauses and modifiers.
4. John Robert Ross, "Constraints on Variables in Syntax", unpublished dissertation, MIT 1967.
5. Pronominalization does not occur here within the same sentence, but it is a well-known fact that pronominalization can be dealt with only in the context of a discourse.
6. George Lakoff, "Pronouns and Reference", unpublished paper 1968, p. 87.
7. Lakoff, *op. cit.*, 88, argues further that "One can eliminate coreferentiality from these conditions simply by indicating that the anaphoric NP must be definite". Though this would make the rule more economical, it is much simpler for us not to dispense with the notion of coreferentiality, as will be seen from further discussion.
8. The example has been borrowed from Lauri Karttunen, *op. cit.*, 4.
9. Emmon Bach, "Nouns and Noun Phrases", *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, (eds. Emmon Bach and Robert Harms), New York 1968, 91-122.
10. Later Bach (*op. cit.*, 111 and 121) dispenses with actual pronouns and referential indices assumed to occur with nouns, and proposes that they should be replaced by a system of operators and variables which

can be used to tie together sentences underlying a complex sentence.

11. We have ignored here the conditions for backward pronominalization and the notion of "command" as formulated by Ronald W. Langacker ("On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command", unpublished paper, San Diego 1966) and have assumed that pronominalization rules always work forwards, as backward pronominalization is not relevant for this discussion.

Midhat Ridjanović

EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES WITH LINKING VERBS
IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

1.0 For the purpose of the present analysis we will divide exclamatory sentences with linking verbs into four groups on the basis of the following two criteria: a) whether or not they begin with *what* or *how* (we will henceforth refer to those which do as "*wh*-exclamatory sentences"), and b) whether the linking verb used is *be* or some other. The four groups will be assigned Roman numbers on the basis of the following feature matrix:

	<i>wh</i> -	<i>be</i>
I	+	+
II	+	-
III	-	+
IV	-	-

(A '-' in the *be* column refers to the use of a linking verb other than *be*.)

2.0n Here are some examples of the first group (group I) of exclamatory sentences:

(1) *What a beautiful picture (this is)!*

(1aSC) *Što je (kako je, ala¹ je) ovo lijepa slika!*

(1bSC) *Lijepe li slike!*

(2) *What awful weather (this is)!*

(2aSC) *Što je (kako je, ala je) ovo užasno vrijeme!*

(3) *What a fool I was to trust him!*

(3SC) *Što sam (baš sam, ala sam, kakva sam) bio budala što sam mu povjerovao!*

(4) *How beautiful this picture is!*

(4aSC) *Kako je (samo) lijepa ova slika!*

(4bSC) *Kako je (samo) ova slika lijepa!*

(4cSC) *Što je (ala je) lijepa ova slika!*

(5) *How silly of me (it is/was) to suppose that!*

(5SC) *Kako sam (samo) (bio) glup da to pretpostavim!*

(6) *How silly of me to have supposed that!*

(6SC) *Kako sam (baš sam) glup da sam (što sam) to pretpostavio!*

2.1 Before we discuss contrastive implications of the above examples, we must point out that most E *wh*-exclamatory sentences are now felt as slightly old-fashioned and therefore more appropriate to literary and formal styles of expression.

2.2 The differences between the E and SC examples in group I reveal as the most important contrastive datum the fact that the SC *što*, *baš*, *ala*, and *kako* corresponding to E *what* and *how* are obligatorily followed by any enclitic(s) that may occur in the sentence, in keeping with the rules about the placement of enclitics in SC. The E *what* and *how*, on the other hand, must be followed by the noun and the adjective phrase respectively, the only possible determiner of the noun phrase being the indefinite article with singular count nouns and zero with all others, in keeping with the general rules about the use of articles with predicate nouns linked to the subject by class-membership *be*. This difference of obligatory ordering of grammatical elements in the two languages may give rise to mistakes like **What is this picture beautiful!* or, perhaps less likely, **What is this beautiful picture!* and **How is beautiful this picture!* or **How is picture beautiful!*

2.3 Other possible mistakes should also be traceable to differences of word order, since the E pattern is quite rigid, while in SC the words following the initial *šta, baš, ala, or kako* plus any enclitic(s) may be ordered in many different ways without a significant change of meaning. (There are certain limitations on the placement of demonstrative pronouns and some other function words, but otherwise the word order seems to be almost free, except that the exclamatory word must always come first.)

2.4 It is to be expected that foreign learners of E will first master the structure with the indefinite article after *what* (*what a* + NP) rather than with zero article in the same place, because of the higher frequency of occurrence of the former structure. They will tend to extend the '*what a ...*' sequence to cases where no article is needed, and produce something like '*What a nice hair she has!*'. This happens especially if the noun in question is not, to them, a clear case of a mass noun (as are *water, sand, milk*, etc. corresponding to the so-called "material nouns" in SC), or if it is a count noun according to the 'logic' of the learner's own language (as are *advice* and *information* for SC learners of E).

2.5 The contrastive observations made so far suggest that the major problems of SC learners in mastering type I of E exclamatory sentences are those of word order and the use or non-use of the indefinite article in sentences beginning with *what*. To cope with these problems I would propose the following set of graded drills:

	<i>wh</i> -word	indef. art.	Adj.	Noun	Subject+ <i>be</i>	Infinitival Phrase
Drill 1	<i>What</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>girl!</i>		
Drill 2	<i>What</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nice</i>	<i>girl!</i>		
Drill 3	<i>What</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nice</i>	<i>girl</i>	<i>she is/was</i>	etc.
Drill 4	<i>What</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>fool</i>	<i>I am/was</i>	<i>to trust him!</i>

Drills parallel to these could be made to practice sentences with mass or plural count nouns immediately following *what*, as well as sentences beginning with *how*.

2.6 I do not believe that it would be profitable to introduce the students to all of the complex contrastive relationships in this type of exclamatory sentences. Enough careful drilling along the lines suggested in the foregoing paragraph will probably take care of the learning problems involved more efficiently. Learners should, however, be warned that in the case of structures with the verb *to be*, as in Drills 3 and 4, they must observe the rules governing the correspondence of tenses between the two languages. Besides, they should note the fact that the dependent clause introduced by *što* in SC exclamatory sentence such as (3SC) corresponds to the infinitival phrase in E.

2.7 Sentences (5) and (6) and their SC counterparts merit special discussion. Although we can say in SC *Lijepo je od Vas ...* I don't feel comfortable about *Kako glupo od mene...* and have therefore resorted to a 'freer' translation shown in (5SC) and (6SC). (Other possible translations, of which there may be many, would not be contrastively useful.) My own 'sprachgefühl' suggests that if we had *nice* instead of *silly* in (5) and (6) (and, of course, *you* instead of *me*), we could use the parallel structure in SC *Kako je to lijepo od Vas...*; this seems to be possible with other words expressing 'good' qualities, such as *ljubazno*, *pošteno*, etc., but rather awkward with words describing 'bad' qualities, such as *glupo*, *ludo*, *bezobrazno*, and the like.

3.0 Let us now look at some examples of type II exclamatory sentences:

(7) *What a place this town has become!*

(7SC) *Kakvo je (samo) (užasno) mjesto postao ovaj grad!*

(8) *How strange he seems!*

(8SC) *Kako (što) on izgleda čudan!*

(9) *How yellow these leaves have turned!*

(9SC) *Kako je (što je) požutjelo ovo lišće!*

3.1 The contrastive grammar of the sentences of the second type is analogous to the grammar of type I sentences outlined in sections 2.1 through 2.7, so that the manner of solving the learning problems involved should be pretty much the same. The use of a 'full' verb instead of only *be* might, however, sometimes create additional problems. Some of these are inherent in all non-*be* linking verb structures (such as the problem of the use of adjectives in E and adverbs in SC after "verbs of perceptual effect"), and have been discussed in other Project reports.² The problem specific to type II of exclamatory sentences stem mostly from differences of word order. The examples in 3.0 show that the verb, in SC, tends to follow the exclamatory word or structure, thus preceding its complement and the subject of the sentence, unless the latter is a personal pronoun. On the other hand, the E pattern of *wh*-exclamatory sentences does not permit any changes of order of its grammatical constituents. Therefore, 'direct' translations of the more frequent SC exclamatory patterns, such as might be produced by SC speaking learners of E, would yield ungrammatical sentences in E. It is also to be expected that some learners will produce sentences like **How yellow have these leaves turned!*, under the combined influence of the word order in E interrogative sentences and a possible order in SC exclamatory sentences. Here again, drilling the order of constituents in E in a systematic way while at the same time warning the students of the existence of a variety of order patterns in SC ought to help in remedying any special learning problems that may arise in this group of sentences.

4.0 A contrastive fact that should be pointed out in connection with all *wh*-exclamatory sentences and the corresponding SC sentences is the systematic occurrence of *what* with noun phrases and *how* with adjectives and adverbs in E, as opposed to the possibility of occurrence in SC of *što*, *baš*, *kako* and *ala* in almost any grammatical context. (Even (7SC) can be reworded to allow for the use of *što*, *baš*, or *ala*: *Što je (baš je, ala je) ovaj grad postao nekakvo mjesto!*, with a possible addition of *da bog sačuva* to emphasize the emotional element in the exclamation.) These discrepancies may cause mistakes like **What beautiful this picture is!*. Some learners might even try to render into E the *samo* that can be used in SC to stress the exclamatory nature of a sentence. They should be warned that the exclamatory *samo* can be rendered as *only* in E only in the type of sentence illustrated by:

(10) *If only this were my house!*

(10SC) *Kad bi samo ovo bila moja kuća!*

We might call these 'exclamatory *if*' sentences and warn our students that *only* must immediately follow *if* (which is not parallel to the corresponding SC sentences) and that the relationship of verbal tenses in the two languages is the same as with other 'contrary-to-fact' *if* sentences.

5.0 In the foregoing section it was stated that *što*, *kako*, *baš*, and *ala* may be used in almost any grammatical context. The 'almost' was necessary because there is one context in which none of the four words can be used. This is the structure consisting only of the exclamatory word and the noun phrase, as in:

(11) *What power!*

(11aSC) *Kakva sila! or Kakve li sile!*

(11bSC) *Koja sila! or Koje li sile!*

As shown by these examples, the exclamatory words admitted in a SC structure of this type are *kakav*

and - perhaps less commonly - *koji*, each of which has to agree in gender and number with the noun phrase that it modifies. However, as soon as we want to add another constituent to such a sentence, it becomes possible to use *što*, *baš*, or *ala*:

(12) *What power that is (was)!*

(12SC) *Što je (baš je, ala je) to (bila) sila!*

In this, as in any other sentence in which the exclamatory word is to be followed by an NP, it is still possible to use *kakav* or *koji*, although *što*, *baš*, or *ala* may be preferred since *kakav* and *koji* introduce ambiguity based on a possible interrogative interpretation.³ The occurrence of *kakav* or *koji* in some exclamatory sentences in SC might cause some difficulties to those among Yugoslav learners of E who are too conscious of their own language while trying to speak E, but, on the whole, it should not present a serious obstacle once the learner has mastered the basic patterns of E exclamatory sentences.

6.0 The contrastive relations of sentences in both group I and II are characterized by a large measure of variety and 'freedom' in SC as compared with a more 'orderly' system in E. As always in such cases, it is the switch from the orderly system to one with greater latitude and, consequently, more rules that is more difficult to make in a learning situation than the other way round. If the target language is the one with the more 'orderly' system, such a situation indicates, in my opinion, a pedagogical approach which will try to ignore as much as possible the confusing variety of the corresponding system in the source language. Therefore, I think that the system of E *wh*-exclamatory sentences should be taught to SC speaking learners mainly through a series of graded exercises as illustrated in section 2.5, and with only an occasional warning of possible interference from SC.

7.0 The following examples serve to illustrate type III exclamatory sentences:

- (13) *Isn't she nice!; Nice, isn't she?*
 (13SC) *Zar nije (nije li) fina (simpatična)!*
- (14) *She is really nice!*
 (14SC) *Stvarno je (zaista je, baš je) fina!*
- (15) *This is awful weather (isn't it)!; Awful weather, isn't it!*
 (15SC) *Užasna li vremena (zar ne)!*
- (16) *Was that ever a bad movie!⁴*
 (16aSC) *Što je to bio loš film!*
 (16bSC) *Uh, lošeg li filma!*

7.1 A common feature of all the E examples in 7.0 is that, with a different intonation in spoken language, and without the exclamation mark in writing, they could have other than exclamatory meaning. The context, both situational and verbal, will in both cases help determine the meaning intended. Still, it seems that in teaching this type of E exclamatory sentences to SC learners, it would be helpful to devote some attention to the more salient features of the intonation of these sentences, without, however, going into the theory. The teacher could simply make the student repeat after him sentences of this type (preferably used in typical contexts), while the students attempt to imitate his or her intonation as closely as possible.

7.2 Of the E examples in 7.0 only (13) and (14) have contrastively useful translation equivalents; these show that SC learners would have little difficulty in learning the kind of E exclamatory sentences illustrated by (13) and (14), provided the students have already mastered the formation of the interrogative-negative form and are aware of the emphatic meaning of the word *really*.

More attention should be devoted to sentences such as (15) and (16), since they have no structural counterparts in SC and should therefore be taught as 'idioms' by a direct-method procedure.

8.0 The following examples illustrate the last group in our classification of exclamatory sentences with linking verbs:

- (17) *This town has become such a place / such a beauty / such a pigsty!*
- (17SC) *Ovaj grad je postao tako neprijatno mjesto / takva ljepotica / takav svinjac!*
- (18) *She has become such a nice person!*
- (18SC) *Postala je tako prijatna osoba!*
- (19) *He seems so strange!*
- (19SC) *Izgleda tako čudan!*
- (20) *Does this ever taste bad!*
- (20SC) *Što je (baš je, ala je) ovo neukusno!*

8.1 (19) and (19SC) show that the E exclamatory structure *so* + Adj has a word-for-word translation equivalent, namely *tako* + Adj, which makes for easy learning in both directions. However, *such a* + N, as in (17), has a more intricate contrastive relationship with SC: if the noun in such a structure connotes a value judgement (whether 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant'), then the corresponding SC structure will be formally analogous to the E one, i.e. *takav* + N; if the E noun, taken in isolation, is totally neutral with regard to any possible value judgement, then the whole structure will have a 'negative' meaning in E, and will have to be rendered in SC by *tako* + an adjective expressing an unpleasant reaction + the corresponding noun. Pedagogical implications of these contrastive facts suggest - apart from the necessity of developing a sense with the learners for a distinction between nouns charged

with 'negative' versus those with 'positive' connotations - the need for practising the structure *such a* + a 'neutral' noun, bearing in mind the 'unpleasant' connotations of exclamatory sentences with such structures and their differing SC renderings.

8.2 Contrastively, sentence (20) belongs in the same class as (16) and should be handled pedagogically in the same way (see section 7.2).

N o t e s

1. *Ala* is predominantly used in eastern parts of the SC speech community.
2. See V. Ivir's "Predicative Patterns of English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in Serbo-Croatian" in: VSCECP, A. Reports 2, Zagreb 1970, 10-55, and my own "Linking Verb + Complement in English and Serbo-Croatian," *ibid.*, 77-93.
3. This is so in my own idiolect and, I believe, in the type of standard SC predominantly used in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the western variant of standard SC, in which *što* is used also as an interrogative word meaning *what* where other types of SC use *šta*, a sentence like *što je to sila* can also be interpreted as either an exclamation or a question, although in the spoken language the intonation will in most cases indicate the intended meaning.
4. This type of exclamatory sentences is characteristic of American English and is only recently gaining ground in Britain as well.

Wayles Browne

ON CONJOINED QUESTIONS AND CONJOINED RELATIVE
CLAUSES IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

1. As is well known, both Serbo-Croatian and English have means for forming yes-no questions and relative clauses. What is more, these categories correspond well in the two languages: a question is normally translated by a question, and a relative clause by a relative clause, although English provides some devices which SC lacks for condensing relative clauses into other constructions.¹ The differences between the languages are mainly in the superficial structures of the interrogative or relative clauses. This paper seeks to point out one such difference, one which is generally unnoticed since it appears only when two or more clauses are joined by means of conjunctions.

We take up questions and relatives in turn, first reviewing their usual surface structures in each language.

2. Yes - no questions.

2.1. In E, yes-no questions have inversion of subject and auxiliary verb.

The question corresponding to

(1) *Mary is reading Erasmus.*

is

(1a) *Is Mary reading Erasmus?*

If the auxiliary consists of more than one word, only the first word is inverted with the subject:²

(2) *Mary will have finished reading the book soon.*

(2a) *Will Mary have finished reading the book soon?*

In sentences which would otherwise have no verb

that acts as an auxiliary, a form of *do* is used as an auxiliary. This form carries the tense markers, while the verb following it is unflected.

(3) *Mary likes the classics.*

(3a) *Does Mary like the classics?*

2.2. SC yes-no questions are generally made with special question markers: *li*, *da li*, *jel'*.

2.2.1. *Li* is an enclitic and follows the general rules for SC enclitics, which we will set forth briefly. All the enclitics in a clause come in a group, one following another in a fixed order. The group normally comes after the first accented element of the clause; it may come directly after the main verb, but never comes later in the clause than that. Using the pronoun enclitic *mi* "to me", *ih* "them" for purposes of illustration:

(4) *Onaj tvrdoglavi rođjak mi ih stalno vraća.*

That stubborn cousin continually gives them back to me.

Here *Onaj tvrdoglavi rođjak*, a noun phrase, counts as the first element. The first accent-bearing word, *onaj*, can also count as the first element:

(5) *Onaj mi ih tvrdoglavi rođjak stalno vraća.*

An example of the enclitics coming directly after the main verb *vraća*:

(6) *Onaj tvrdoglavi rođjak vraća mi ih stalno.*

The enclitic pronoun could not come later than immediately after the verb:

(7) **Onaj tvrdoglavi rođjak vraća stalno mi ih.*

The need for correct order within the group is seen in:

(4a) **Onaj tvrdoglavi rođjak ih mi stalno vraća.*

Li, in addition to this, requires that the verb

should be put first in the clause:

- (8) *Vrača li mi ih onaj tvrdoglavi rodjak?*

Is that stubborn cousin giving them back to me?

Here we see that *li* comes before all the other enclitics in the group.

The verb which is put first is the one which carries the tense or mood marker: hence, in compound tenses, it is the auxiliary, rather than the main verb (infinitive or form in *-l-*).

- (9) *B^uste li ih vratili?*

Would you give them back?

- (9a) **Vratili li ih biste?*

If the verb to be put first is an enclitic, a noun-enclitic form of it must be used, since no enclitics can stand at the beginning of the sentence. In (9), accented *b^uste* is the non-enclitic form of the usual unaccented *biste*; in (10a) *j^esu* is the non-enclitic version of *su*.³

- (10) *Vratili su knjige.*

(They)have returned the books.

- (10a) *Jesu li vratili knjige?*

Have they returned the books?

2.2.2. *Da li* is put at the beginning of the sentence. The enclitic group must directly follow *da li*, as it must follow other interrogative words and subordinating conjunctions.⁴

- (11) *Da li ih je onaj tvrdoglavi rodjak vratio?*

Did that stubborn cousin return them?

- (11a) **Da li onaj tvrdoglavi rodjak ih je vratio?*

One might be tempted to consider *da li* as merely the conjunction *da* followed by the interrogative word *li*. There are two arguments against this position, however. The first is that the conjunction *da* is normally used to introduce certain specific types of clauses (purpose clauses, conditional clauses, complements to verbs, etc.),

i.e. with a specific function; while the *da* in *da li* has no separate function as a conjunction, no role to play that is not already played by the *li*. Second, when the clause being made interrogative already begins with a conjunction *da*, the result is not just this *da* followed by *li*, but *da li + da*:

- (12) *Da predjemo zajedno ulicu.*
Let's cross the street together.
- (12a) *Da li da predjemo zajedno ulicu?*
Shall we cross the street together?

In view of these arguments, we consider *da li* to be a single unit. We might treat *da li* as the non-enclitic form of the enclitic *li*. This treatment would explain why some SC speakers regard *da li* as more strongly interrogative than *li*, since non-enclitic forms are always more emphatic than the corresponding enclitics in environments where a choice between them is possible.

2.2.3. *Je li* or *jel'* seems to have the same properties and use as *da li*. It is frequently heard in colloquial speech, though ignored by grammars and not used in written style.

2.3. Let us say that a sentence or clause is formulated as a question if it follows the patterns given in 2.1. and 2.2.

2.3.1. In SC, when yes-no questions are joined with the conjunction *ili* "or", only the first of the series of questions is formulated as a question:

- (13) *Da li su se vratili u Rijeku ili su ostali u Zagrebu?*
- (13a) **Da li su se vratili u Rijeku ili da li su ostali u Zagrebu?*
- (14) *Jesu li se vratili u Rijeku ili su ostali u Zagrebu?*

- (14a) **Jesu li se vratili u Rijeku ili jesu li ostali u Zagrebu?*
- (15) *Jesu li se vratili u Rijeku ili misle ostati u Zagrebu?*
- (15a) **Jesu li se vratili u Rijeku ili da li misle ostati u Zagrebu?*
- (16) *Hoće li ostati u Zagrebu ili misle otići u Rijeku?*
- (16a) **Hoće li ostati u Zagrebu ili misle li otići u Rijeku?*

An example from the newspaper Vjesnik:

- (17) *Je li opomena kazna i disciplinska mjera ili je ona ... nešto sasvim drugo?*⁵

2.3.1.1. When yes-no questions are joined with *i "and"*, the situation is different, for this word can join sentences having no direct relation to one another.

- (18) *Jesi li bio u Rijeci, i jesi li razgovarao s mamom?*

- (18a) **Jesi li bio u Rijeci, i razgovarao si s mamom?*

It does not seem to be possible to join yes-no questions with *ali "but"*, a *"and, but"*, or other coordinating conjunctions.

2.3.2. In E, on the other hand, all the members of a conjoined series of questions must be formulated as questions.

- (13E) **Did they go back to Rijeka or (they) stayed in Zagreb?*

- (13aE) *Did they go back to Rijeka or did they stay in Zagreb?*

Sentences (13E), (13aE) also correspond to (14), (14a).

- (15E) **Have they gone back to Rijeka or (they) are thinking of staying in Zagreb?*

- (15aE) *Have they gone back to Rijeka or are they thinking of staying in Zagreb?*
- (16E) **Will they stay in Zagreb or (they) are thinking of going to Rijeka?*
- (16aE) *Will they stay in Zagreb or are they thinking of going to Rijeka?*
- (17E) **Is a warning a punishment and disciplinary measure, or (it) is something entirely different?*
- (17aE) *Is a warning a punishment and disciplinary measure, or is it something entirely different?*

2.3.2.1. This applies likewise to E questions conjoined with *and*:

- (18E) *Were you in Rijeka, and did you talk to Mother?*
- (18a) **Were you in Rijeka, and you talked to Mother?*

2.3.3. It is true that (13aE) could also be expressed as:

- (13bE) *Did they go back to Rijeka or stay in Zagreb?*

This sentence is no exception to the principle that all the members of a series must be formulated as questions, since it is made from (13aE) by dropping the repeated auxiliary verb and repeated subject. In just the same way, (13c) can be made from (13b):

- (13b) *Da li su se oni vratili u Rijeku ili su (oni) ostali u Zagrebu?*
- (13c) *Da li su se oni vratili u Rijeku ili ostali u Zagrebu?*

In sentences (13bE) and (13c), the surface structure contains only one subject, one auxiliary verb, and one indication of interrogativity, followed by two main verbs joined by *or*, *ili*. Simi-

larly in (17) the repeated subject and verb can be left out:

(17b) *Je li opomena kazna ... ili nešto sasvim drugo?*

(17bE) *Is a warning a punishment ... or something entirely different?*

3. Relative clauses.

3.1. E relative clauses begin with relative words or with phrases containing relative words.⁶ These words or phrases can play a certain role in the clause, for example that of subject, object of a verb, object of a preposition, adverbial modifier, etc. Thus, in the underlined relative clause in (19) and (19a), *which* plays the role of object of the preposition *about*:

(19) *The question about which you were speaking is very important.*

(19a) *The question which you were speaking about is very important.*

The relative words *that*, \emptyset must be at the very beginning of the clause:

(19b) *The question that you were speaking about is very important.*

(19c) **The question about you were speaking is very important.*

(19d) *The question \emptyset you were speaking about is very important.*

(19e) **The question about \emptyset you were speaking is very important.*

3.2. Relative clauses in SC: *koji* etc. and *što*.

3.2.1. SC has relative words like those of E, e.g. *koji* "which, who" and similar rules for putting relative words or expressions first in the clause. There are differences in detail, or course, such as that the object of a preposition cannot be moved to the front alone; the whole prepositional phrase must be taken.

(19SC) *Pitanje o kojem ste raspravljali vrlo je važno.*

(19aSC) * *Pitanje kojem ste raspravljali o vrlo je važno.*

3.2.2. Another way to make relative clauses that refer to noun phrases is with *što* at the beginning of the clause:

(20) *Pitanje što ste o njemu raspravljali vrlo je važno.*

As we see, *što* does not play a role within the clause, since it would be a complete sentence without *što*:

(21) *Raspravljali ste o njemu.*
You were speaking about it.

The prepositional phrase (whose role was played by *o kojem* in (19SC)) is still in its place in the clause, with a personal pronoun as its object: *o njemu*. The pronoun refers to the antecedent noun (*pitanje*), and agrees with it in gender and number. The case of the pronoun is governed by its function within the relative clause (object of a preposition, of a verb, etc.):

(22) *Pitanje što ste ga postavili vrlo je važno.*
The question which you have raised is very important.

In (22), the pronoun has the form *ga*, accusative, since it is the direct object of the verb *postavili*.⁷

3.2.3. The existence of these two alternative ways to make relative clauses leads a grammarian using the transformational method to propose the following description: a relative clause, in its underlying structure, contains a part which repeats the antecedent element (in our examples: *pitanje*) to which the relative clause refers. Thus (23) shows this structure, slightly simplified:

(23) *pitanje Rel (vi) ste raspravljali o pitanju*

Here Rel is a morpheme which indicates that the

clause is a relative clause. (The clause itself is underlined, for clarity.)

The repeated element (*pitanju*) is made into a personal pronoun by a pronominalization transformation, just as repeated elements are pronominalized in any sort of sentence:

(24) *pitanje* Rel (vi) ste raspravljali o njemu

Then another transformation can act which brings the pronominalized element to the beginning of the clause:

(25) *pitanje* o njemu + Rel (vi) ste raspravljali

Rel together with a pronoun gives a relative pronoun, so that the structure (25) has the surface form seen in sentence (19SC). Rel by itself is pronounced *što*, so that if this fronting transformation does not act, (24) has the surface form (20a) or (20).

(20a) *pitanje* što ste raspravljali o njemu

In English, the rule which brings the pronominalized element to the front must act; one cannot say

(20aSC) **the question that you spoke about it*

in standard English, although such constructions appear in some dialects.

Of course, the description we have given is not the only possible one. A critic might still say that *što...o njemu* and *o kojem* were merely two alternative constructions, made in totally different ways. But in section 3.3.1. we will see some phenomena which our proposal will help us to understand.

3.3. As in the case of questions, we will say that a clause is formulated as a relative clause if it follows the patterns discussed in 3.1. and 3.2.

3.3.1. In SC, when relative clauses are joined with a conjunction, only the first of the clauses has to be formulated as a relative clause; one can

say both (26) and (26a).

(26) *zemlja o kojoj znamo vrlo malo ali koju smatramo važnom*

(26a) *zemlja o kojoj znamo vrlo malo ali je smatramo važnom*

As we see, the second clause need not have any relative pronoun or *što* in it; when it does not have these elements, it contains a personal pronoun. Our proposed transformational treatment explains why this personal pronoun appears. The second clause passes through stages like those shown in (23) and (24); but since it has no *Rel* morpheme, the personal pronoun must remain within the clause.

Examples of conjoined relative clauses in which the second contains a personal pronoun:

(27) *Zahvaljujem i svim onim fonetičarima na čijim sam djelima učio i studirao fonetiku, te sam se u svome radu služio njihovim djelima direktno ili indirektno. (R. Filipović)*

(28) *...iznosi svoje poglede koje je delimice primio iz dosadašnje naučne literature, a delimice i sâm došao do njih. (A. Belić)*

(29) *... pojedinosti - koje stalno treba pamtiti i umeti se njima služiti kad nastavnik zapita - ("Naš jezik")*

One also finds examples where each of a series of conjoined relative clauses is formulated as a relative clause:

(30) *...pa i onih [kadrova] koji su potrebni našoj privredi i koji su osnovni preduvjet za brži i efikasniji razvoj nase privrede. ("Vjesnik")*

(31) *... tzv. "interventna područja", koja nisu u klubu nerazvijenih, ali prema čijim razvojnim teškoćama društvo ne može ostati skrštenih ruku. ("Večernji list")*

Each of these examples could have the opposite construction as well, e.g.

- (27a) ... na čijim sam djelima učio i studirao fonetiku,
 te čijim sam se djelima u svome radu služio...
 ... koja nisu u klubu nerazvijenih, ali društvo
 ne može ostati skrštenih ruku prema njihovim
 teškoćama.

The situation, then, is in part parallel to what we found with questions. (26a), (27), (28), and (29) contain only one Rel marker, which is followed by a number of conjoined clauses (just as the questions contained with *ili*, 2.3.1., contain only one question marker which is followed by more than one clause). For (26a), the stages in the derivation would be:

- (32) zemlja Rel znamo vrlo malo o zemlji ali smatramo
zemlju važnom

Both repeated nouns are affected by the pronominalization rule:

- (33) zemlja Rel znamo vrlo malo o njoj ali smatramo
je važnom

But only the first of the pronouns can be moved to the beginning and combined with Rel:

- (34) zemlja o njoj + Rel znamo vrlo malo ali smatramo
je važnom

and (34) has the surface form (26a), in which the enclitic *je* follows *ali* because *ali* counts as the first element of the clause *ali...važnom* see (2.2.1.).

On the other hand, sentences (26), (30), and (31) have a relative marker for each clause, so that each clause is formulated as a relative clause.

3.3.2. English, as with questions, requires all relative clauses to be formulated as such. Thus we can have:

- (26E) *a country about which we know very little but
 which we consider important*

but not⁸:

- (26aE) **a country about which we know very little but
 we consider it important.*

The literal translations of (27), (28), and (29) are likewise ungrammatical:

- (27E) * *phoneticians from whose works I have learned and studied phonetics and I have used their works...*
- (28E) * *views which he has partly taken from previous literature and he has partly arrived at them himself.*
- (29E) * *details which one must always remember and one must be able to apply them when the teacher asks.*

Rather, one must say:

- (27aE) *phoneticians from whose works I have learned and studied phonetics, and whose works I have used...*
- (28E) *views which he has partly taken from previous literature and which he has partly arrived at himself.*

etc.

3.3.3. Of course, neither E nor SC always has to be as prolix as in the examples shown. In both languages, an element that is identical in several clauses can be omitted in some of the clauses, and needs to appear only once. This phenomenon is not limited to relatives and questions. Beside

- (35) *I will get up and I will go now.*

one can say

- (36) *I will get up and will go now.*

(omitting *I*, which stands in front position in the second clause just as in the first). One can also omit *I will*, giving (37), the most natural formulation:

- (37) *I will get up and go now.*

SC has similar possibilities:

- (35SC) *Ja ću ustati i ja ću otići sada.*

Unless it is strongly emphasized, the second *ja*

will normally be omitted in SC:

(36SC) *Ja ću ustati i otići ću sada.*

(See 2.2.1. on enclitics for the position of *ću*.)
Or both *ja* and *ću* can be omitted:

(37SC) *Ja ću ustati i otići sada.*

This sort of omission has already been exemplified for questions in 2.3.3. To show it at work on relatives, let us change our example slightly:

(38) *Tibet is a country which we know well and which we consider important.*

(38SC) *Tibet je zemlja koju mi dobro poznajemo i koju (mi) smatramo važnom.*

Here we can omit the second relative pronoun and the second subject pronoun *we*, *mi*:

(38a) *Tibet is a country which we know well and consider important.*

(38aSC) *Tibet je zemlja koju mi dobro poznajemo i smatramo važnom.*

English can make use of this omission more frequently than SC can, for at least two reasons:

a. Objects of verbs in SC can be in various cases (accusative, dative,...), whereas in E all verbs take the same form. Thus the two objects in (39) are identical, and the second can be omitted:

(39) *details which he remembers and (which he) uses.*

But in (39SC) the object of *pamti* is accusative and that of *služi se* is instrumental, and so neither can be omitted.

(39SC) *pojediniosti koje pamti i kojima se služi.*

b. Objects of prepositions can be detached from their prepositions in E, and have the same form as objects of verbs. So in

(40) *a country which we know very little about but (which we) consider important.*

the second *which* and *we*, which are the beginning of the second relative clause (just like *which* and *we* in the first relative clause), can be left out. This is not the case in SC:

(40SC) *zemlja o kojoj znamo vrlo malo ali koju smatramo važnom.*

4. We hope that this study will have a certain practical usefulness. It may improve the teaching of English as a foreign language, by helping to eradicate a particular error: ungrammatical sentences of the type

(41) **Did they go back to Rijeka or stayed in Zagreb?*

(42) **...a country about which we know very little but consider it important.*

are in fact found in the English of some otherwise extremely competent speakers of SC background. Further, it should help in the teaching of SC as a foreign language, by giving the teacher a means of explaining constructions that are bound to puzzle the E-speaking learner when he first runs up against them.

On the theoretical side, it should serve as an example of how the transformational approach can be helpful in contrastive work. It also shows the value of contrastive data in the study of individual languages. To a grammarian working on English alone, the idea that conjoined questions or relatives must all be formulated as questions (relatives) would seem intuitively evident. He might never think of stating it explicitly, or imagining that a language could exist in which this would not be the case.

Notes

1. For instance, present participle constructions:
 - (i) *Anyone who drives too fast has to pay a fine.*
 - (ii) *Anyone driving too fast has to pay a fine.*

(iSC) *Svi koji prebrzo voze moraju platiti kaznu.*

(iiSC) **Svi prebrzo vozeći moraju platiti kaznu.*

See Dora Maček, "Relative Pronouns in English and Serbo-Croatian", YSCECP, A. Reports 3, 1970, p. 124

2. In this connection, note that contractions of auxiliary verbs with *not* count as single words:

(i) *Mary won't have finished it by then.*

(ii) *Won't Mary have finished it by then?*

When *not* is not contracted with the first auxiliary, it does not count as a single word and does not take part in inversion:

(iii) *Mary will not have finished it by then.*

(iv) *Will Mary not have finished it by then?*

Examples like

(v) **Will not Mary have finished it by then?*

pronounced as two words [wɪl nɒt], though found in literature, are not normal in present-day English. This difference in behavior between contracted and non-contracted forms suggests that teachers and textbook writers should distinguish them very carefully, always writing *won't*, *isn't* etc. for the one-word forms [wəʊnt] [ɪznt], and using the spelling *will not*, *is not* etc. only for the two-word forms [wɪl nɒt], [ɪz nɒt].

3. *Jest(e)* is the usual non-enclitic form of *je*; but before *li* another non-enclitic form, *jě*, is used.

(i) *Jě li došao?* : Has he come?

(ii) **Jeste li došao?*

4. The possibility of putting the enclitic group after the main verb is not open when the sentence begins with these words:

(i) **Da li vratio ih je onaj tvrđoglavi rodjak?*

5. In (17), the order *ili je* is not the result of question inversion. *Je*, being an enclitic, is placed after the first element of the clause (see 2.2.1.), which is *ili*. A non-enclitic verb like *predstavlja* "represents" is not inverted:

(17a) *Je li opomena kazna i disciplinska mjera ili ona predstavlja nešto sasvim drugo?*

6. See Maček, op. cit., for some details on the use of the various relative pronouns in E and SC.

7. When the pronoun is the subject of the verb in the relative clause, it is omitted, just as other subject pronouns are omitted in SC unless they are stressed or put in contrast.

(i) *Predsjednik SIV Mitja Ribičič...izražava sućut u povodu teške nesreće što je zadesila grad Tuskaniju. ("Vjesnik")*

The president of the Federal Executive Council, Mitja Ribičič, expresses his regrets at the disaster which has struck the city of Tuscany.

Here *što* is not the subject of the verb *je zadesila*; *-la* is a feminine ending, and *što* has neuter agreement. The subject is a feminine personal pronoun, *ona* (referring to *nesreća*), but this pronoun must be left out of the surface form, since it is not stressed or contrasted.

Some speakers may not find the relatives with *što* fully acceptable; we shall give three examples showing that they are in current use.

(ii) *Ako Sabor usvoji republički zakon što ga je danas prihvatilo Izvršno vijeće... ("Vjesnik")*
If the Assembly passes the Republic law which the Executive Council accepted today...

(iii) *Upravo je ta tema...bila glavna u prvim ovogodišnjim međunarodnim razgovorima što ih je sredinom siječnja Moro imao u Bukureštu s najvišim rukovodiocima Rumunjske. ("Vjesnik")*
Just this topic was the main one in the first international talks this year which Moro held with the highest officials of Rumania in Bucharest in the middle of January.

(iv) *...on ne pruža sve one prednosti što ih autor opisuje. (M. Košiček)*
It does not yield all the advantages that the author describes.

Under some circumstances *što* is not possible, and *koji* must be used:

(v) **Spomenuli ste jedno pitanje što ćemo ga ostaviti za sutra.*

(va) *Spomenuli ste jedno pitanje koje ćemo ostaviti za sutra.*

You have mentioned a question which we will leave until tomorrow.

These circumstances, so far unclarified, depend on the main clause, not on the relative clause itself; cf., with the same relative clause as (v):

(vi) *Pitanje što ćemo ga ostaviti za sutra nije tako hitno.*

The question which we will leave for tomorrow is not so important.

8. Of course, one can say

(26bE) *Tibet is a country about which we know very little. But we consider it important.*

But that would no longer be a relative construction.

Rudolf Filipović

TESTING THE RESULTS OF CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English contrastive project¹ regards CA as having two main values: general linguistic and pedagogic. The general linguistic value is that it can show what the role of this subdiscipline is in linguistic description and how it can help us to analyze and describe more precisely some phenomena of two individual languages whose systems are being contrasted. The pedagogical one should produce, first, bases for foreign language teaching materials, second, better organization of the materials, i.e. the order in which individual items are taken up in teaching, and third, improved organization of the classes themselves, as for instance the amount of time to be devoted to introducing and reviewing various points.²

What we propose to do in this paper is not only to test the results of CA but also evaluate them pedagogically. In our project more attention has been paid so far to the pedagogical value of CA³ and therefore only the applied - pedagogical aspect of CA will be discussed here.

However, the pedagogical value of CA has been challenged several times and some attempts were made to restrict its application in language learning. Error analysis (EA) has been opposed to CA for the reason that "contrastive linguistic analysis - no matter how refined - can only point toward a potential learning problem or difficulty" while "error analysis can tell the intensity of difficulty, or the size of the problem".⁴ It has further been claimed that "according to contrastive analysis learner difficulties are mainly made up of differences in the source and target languages", and that "it is questionable to select language learning materials solely from the viewpoint of the contrastive analy-

sis theory".⁵

I have already mentioned several times that the Yugoslav CA project considers contrastive linguistic analysis alone, inadequate to achieve all the above mentioned pedagogical values.⁶ Since the start of our work we have been aware of limitations to the findings of CA and of advantages of the results that can be achieved by EA. Therefore, we established two parallel groups of researchers; one on CA of the structure of English and S-C, and the other on error analysis in the speech of learners of English in the S-C-speaking area.

The first group carried out CA at four linguistic levels, analyzing about 50 different topics of the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical structures of E and S-C. The second group, working on EA, studied errors in the use of the English parts of speech and the main parts of the sentence.

In the course of CA several papers were written⁷ disclosing the results of the analysis of each individual topic. Each paper contains three parts: a) an analysis of the topic on E and S-C material made on the basis of general works, specialized literature on the problem, and the analyzer's own knowledge and experience; b) a concrete CA documented by material from the corpus (contrastive concordances); c) a pedagogical section giving practical implications (usable in teaching).

EA, whose frame title is morphological and syntactic errors in the speech of learners of E and S-C-speaking area, resulted in three MA theses, each examining one group of errors: a) Errors in the morphology and syntax of the parts of speech (excluding the verb)⁸ b) Errors in the morphology and syntax of the verb,⁹ c) Errors in the syntax of the sentence.¹⁰

The immediate results of this investigation are several types of deviations: a) deviations from the rules in some parts of speech of a morphological or lexical nature: e.g. 1. errors in formation - wrongly chosen formative elements in substantives, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, 2. wrong grammatical forms, especially in the plural of substantives and in the present and the preterite of verbs, 3. errors in pronoun gender and number, 4. double negation with negative forms of pronouns and verbs, 5. incorrect comparison, 6. false pairs, 7. syntactic errors - adjectives for adverbs, the anaphoric *one*, the article, the choice of tenses, the incorrect use of the passive and the active, sequence of tenses, etc., etc. and b) deviations from the rules for producing grammatical sentences: e.g. 1. incorrect word order, 2. omission of elements, 3. repetition of elements, 4. superfluous elements, 5. incorrect embedding of clauses, 6. errors in building constructions smaller than clauses, etc., etc.

Several possible causes for the above mentioned deviations were identified: 1) One of the main causes of morphological and syntactic errors is interference from the native language. On the syntactic level difficulties and errors arise from differing distribution of various parts of speech in English and Serbo-Croatian (e.g. the use of an adverb instead of an adjective). The conflict between a highly inflected language like S-C and a less inflected one like E is particularly obvious in sentence structure. While the former has a relatively free word-order, in the latter the order is fixed, which causes frequent syntactic errors in the S-C-speaking area.

This very common cause of errors is due to the learner's converting partial overlap into complete overlap. Careful contrastive presentation of E material, development of a feeling in the learner that inter-language relations are never

one-to-one, and construction of drills to make these complex relations automatic, are the suggestions for correction made by our EA investigators.

2) Another cause of errors, especially morphological ones, is incorrect analogy which a learner tries to establish within the foreign language. He tries to apply a general rule to all cases (e.g. adding the plural ending *-s* to all nouns, or the comparative ending *-er* to all adjectives, etc.).

3) A cause of deviation can be the fact that the learner knows or is learning another foreign language. He applies the rule of the other language to E. This is very common on the syntactic level where for instance a wrong choice of verbal tense can be due to the learner's knowledge of the use of the same tense in the other language.

4) Some errors and deviations occur in the so called "transitional phase", which occurs after the learner has given up his native language system as a model, but has not yet completely mastered the system of the target language.

5) further cause of morphological, syntactic, and lexical deviations is incomplete mastery of the target language system due to the teaching methods used.

The types of morphological, syntactic, and lexical deviations, together with their possible causes, suggest that with a proper methodological approach to E teaching and an adequate grading of the teaching material a large proportion of errors could be avoided or corrected.

On the basis of the results obtained in EA we are working on a systematization of errors typical for S-C-speaking learners of E. This new system, which we call a general approximative system or the compromise system, will serve its

purpose, we hope, in the teaching process by giving an idea of errors made by S-C speakers when learning E. As such it will be of some good use to the text-book writer and the practicing teacher in their work.

Both teams working simultaneously used each other's results, and very often we had the impression that one could not have worked successfully without the other. The EA investigators when trying to explain the cause of deviation for some items used the basic findings of the CA analysts. And the analysts working on CA quite often consulted the corpus of errors compiled by the EA team workers. One of the EA investigators stated in her report that the results of CA of S-C and E helped her "establish some areas of overlap, recognize, classify, systematize, and predict some errors", sometimes even "establish some of their causes".¹²

The best and the most obvious connection between the work of the two teams is in the practical goal of their work. Both tried to find the pedagogical implications of their research: the CA team in the pedagogical section of the reports on individual topics and the EA team in their suggested systems for correcting and eliminating particular types of errors. The suggestions for the teaching implications of their work are not and need not always be identical for each topic they have investigated. Their results were combined later when they served as a basis of pedagogical materials, the teaching material used in classes. These materials demonstrated the applicability of the findings of both CA and EA in the teaching process.

Now it becomes clear why both analyses were carried out simultaneously. Our assumption was that full application of CA in foreign language teaching can be obtained only if it is combined with EA; in other words if the results of CA are checked by the findings of EA. This was done in

the course of our work on CA, particularly when we started writing pedagogical materials.¹³ This checking represents the first (but not the only) stage of testing the CA results.

The pedagogical material, written for each topic by pedagogical advisers (specialists in teaching methods) together with an analyzer, was demonstrated under classroom conditions and thus evaluated in the actual teaching process. Here another testing factor was added: the analyzers' and pedagogical advisers' personal experience with difficulties and errors in teaching E. Since they themselves are practicing teachers of E, they are well qualified to test the materials specially adapted for teaching E in the S-C-speaking area. This is then the second stage of testing the results of CA.

In order to ensure the maximum applicability of the results obtained in CA and EA systematic experiments had been organized in several schools at the advanced level of teaching E. This was the third stage of testing in which each topic was covered by a set of written tests. These tests were prepared for all the areas of interference found by the analyzers in the course of their work on CA of S-C and E. Some additional information about types and causes of errors was acquired by applying EA to spoken and recorded material, while this stage of testing was being carried out by means of specially designed written tests.¹⁴

About 500 learners of E on an advanced level (having studied E for about four or more years) were tested. The tests were designed to check the basic points of interference discovered by CA analyzers and treated in their reports.¹⁵ Very often complex tests had to be used, for example in the testing of verbal tenses, as they covered results of several reports. For instance, when testing the areas of interference in the use of the present tense in E the results of several

reports were involved since the present tense may be used for all three time spheres: past, present and future.

Three types of tests were used: multiple choice, transformations, and translation from S-C into E. Multiple choice tests were used to check the S-C learner's ability to choose the correct form out of a number of given items. Items used as distractors were chosen from the area of interference and errors that were found out by the EA team. (This is one more example how useful it was for us to work on both analyses - CA and EA - simultaneously.) The number of distractors depended on the result of EA but we tried not to work with fewer than four items, although in a few cases we worked only with two items.

Transformation tests showed primarily deviations in morphology. They also were based on the findings of EA.

The third type of tests - translation - showed the greatest number of deviations: in the choice of vocabulary, spelling, various morphological errors, syntactic errors both in choice of tense and word-order. The number of errors did not seem to depend on whether the test consisted of separate sentences or combined pairs of sentences.

In marking and evaluating the tests, we concentrated on the points of our interest only, i.e. the points of interference treated in CA reports. After the tests had been classified according to the items, they were subjected to evaluation and classification of errors. Here is an example of our procedure illustrated by testing the use of the present tense.¹⁶ All items were divided into two main groups: the present tense simple and the present tense continuous. These two groups were further divided into three subgroups: multiple choice, transformation and translation. Each item was classified into correct and incorrect with the help of a native informant.

Errors were classified according to types of tests used. Multiple-choice items were further classified into several groups according to distractors. Transformations appeared in two forms: the inversion type and the *wh*-questions. The errors were divided into syntactic errors and morphological ones. Translation proved to be the most difficult set of tests to evaluate but also indispensable for the purpose of analyzing the interference between L_s and L_t , and consequently for our specific purpose: testing the results of CA.

After classifying the errors in using the present tense, 28 tables were made with a clearly worked out scale of errors and their numerical data. The correct items were written in blue, the errors in red. In tables with sentences where transformations were required, errors in *wh*-questions were written in green. In the tables of translation items, pairs of sentences had their respective numerical data worked out, so that it was quite evident which part of the pair, which verbal form showed most deviations.

Every table has his own title (e.g. the present tense continuous or simple), the number of answers and the type of tests applied. The table contains the correct form and the number of correct answers as well as the distractors, the incorrect forms - errors and their number. Percentages are given for each form used, the first percentage of correct answers to total answers, and then also the numerical relation for all errors.

In the CA report on the Present Tense in English and Serbo-Croatian the analyzer has described the following areas of interference between the structures of E and S-C:

"In S-C the imperfective present covers the meaning of the E continuous, and partly also that of the E simple present. For

this reason the imperfective present will be a strong source of interference because the S-C speaker will constantly tend to use the E continuous present as its equivalent. This equation of the imperfective present with the continuous present is due to the fact that the perfective present only exceptionally has the value of the E continuous present".¹⁷

To test this point the following tests were produced and their results analyzed:

1. Multiple choice tests for the continuous and simple present with 6 items each in which the time of the action was expressed by an adverb of time or was clearly implied. The result was: a) The correct choice - the continuous form - was made in 75.25% to 90.25% of answers; errors in the choice - the simple present instead of the present continuous - range from 2.25% to 22%. The number of erroneous choices is smaller if the time of action is expressed by an adverbial adjunct of time (like *now, right now, at this moment, etc.*) and larger if the time of action is only implied. The number of errors is smaller if the verb is a common one (like: *listen, sit, work, drive, etc.*) and larger with less common verbs (like: *enjoy, leave, etc.*). Both facts involve the system of teaching English and even the teaching material used.

b) The correct choice - the present simple - has a wider range and was made in 24.75% to 93.25% of answers; the erroneous choice - the present continuous instead of the present simple - was made in 11.2% to 58.5% of answers. Here again the adverbial adjunct of time (like *after school, every week, etc.*) seems to influence the percentage of correct choice of the present tense, while a temporal when-clause indicates a larger number of erroneous choice. The verb *declare*, which does not seem to be used very often in our teaching materials, since it is

rather low in frequency lists, shows the correct choice - the present simple - in 54.5%, and the erroneous choice - the present continuous - in 41.5%. The largest number of errors occurred with the verb *feel* where the erroneous choice - the present continuous - was made in 58.5% of answers, and the correct one - the present simple - only in 24.75% of answers.

2. Translation from S-C into E offered some interesting results and contributed in its way to the final evaluation of these tests. Here we did not find only the two main alternatives: simple present vs. present continuous. The result was: a) The correct choice - the present continuous - was made in sentences where the time of the action was implied in an examination in 37% of answers. The erroneous choice - the present simple - was made only in 6.75% of answers in the first case and 8.25% of answers in the second case. All other erroneous answers represent various morphological and semantic errors typical for translations from S-C into E.

b) The choice of the present simple and the present continuous was further tested in pairs of sentences with the same verb but different adjuncts of time. When the adjunct required the use of the present simple the correct choice - the present simple - was made in 50.25% to 65% of answers. (The erroneous use of the present continuous occurred only in 1-3% of answers.) When the adjunct required the use of the present continuous the number of correct answers was even smaller, in 8.25% to 17.75% of answers. The erroneous choice - the present simple - was made in 25% to 38.5% of answers. Time and space do not allow us to refer to the other tests of the translation type. As a conclusion based on them all we may state is that the learners of E in the S-C-speaking area tend to use the present simple instead of the present continuous much more often than the other way round. This

finding is not in complete agreement with the statement made by the CA paper on the Use of the Present Tense in English and Serbo-Croatian. It is therefore a valuable contribution to our work on the pedagogical materials achieved through this system of tests.

We came across several such disagreements between the results of CA and those of the tests, a fact which justifies the third stage of testing, a rather complex and time consuming procedure.

In conclusion, I can only state that testing the results of CA serves a very useful purpose in expanding and refining the findings of CA and EA and in providing some new insights which guide our work in producing the final version of pedagogical materials which we have been deeply engaged in writing.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to all those who co-operated in this research: two teams of researchers, one that worked on CA and another on EA, as well as to all practicing teachers who tested the findings of both CA and EA in their classes.

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ERRORS IN THE SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE IN THE
SPEECH OF LEARNERS OF ENGLISH IN THE
SERBO-CROATIAN-SPEAKING AREA

I. ERROR CONNECTED WITH THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF
THE SENTENCE

This group contains errors connected with S, P, O, and AM and their position in Se. (S = subject, P = predicate, O = object, AM = adverbial modifier, Se = sentence)

1. SUBJECT.

a) I n v e r t e d S a n d P.

This letter found his wife in his pocket.

They want to make a language which would speak all people.

These examples were made on the model of

Ovo pismo našla je njegova žena u njegovom džepu.

Oni žele stvoriti jezik koji bi govorili svi ljudi.

in Croatian. Such a word order is possible in Croatian because of the existence of case endings defining the subject and object, but in English, where subject and object are defined by their position in the sentence, it is incorrect.

b) I n c o r r e c t p o s i t i o n o f t h e S
i n i n t e r r o g a t i v e s e n t e n c e s.

The S is often incorrectly placed in *wh*-questions, e.g.

What has seen the traveller?

following the Croatian prototype *Što je vidio putnik?*
Besides interference from L_m (L_m = mother tongue), the reason for such an error may be false analogy. A *wh*-element is used to question both S and O. In both instances it takes first position in the in-

terrogative *Se*, but the order of the remaining elements shows whether *S* or *O* is being asked about. In the example cited, the speaker, by analogy to a question about *S*, used the same word order in a question about *O*.

c) O m i t t e d o r r e p e a t e d S.

Omission of the *S* is particularly frequent in complex sentences with subordinate clauses, e.g.

When I, my mother and father, when have money, we go..

The cause of this error is the prototype in L_m , in which the *S* can be left out because of the person endings on the verb, e.g. *Kad ja, moja majka i otac, kad imamo novaca,*

The formal subject *it* is also often omitted, e.g.

Sometimes happens that sitting in the room...

following the Croatian prototype *Ponekad se dogadja-da...* where the formal subject is not expressed in surface structure.

2. PREDICATE. This group treats only errors in properties of the *P* unconnected with its relation to the *S*. All errors resulting from the *P* - *S* relationship are taken up in the group of errors connected with the *S*.

a) P r e d i c a t i v e n o u n i n s t e a d o f a d j e c t i v e. Errors of this type are recorded in expressions of nationality, e.g.

... although I am Dalmatia, I am sick.

Interference from L_m acts in the direction of the use of a noun for an adjective, following the Croatian *... iako sam Dalmatinac...* (a Dalmatian). To express his nationality, the speaker uses the noun he knows, *Dalmatia*.

b) A d v e r b i n s t e a d o f a d j e c t i v e
a s n o m i n a l P a f t e r t o b e a n d
l i n k i n g v e r b s. The incorrect *Se*

... because it sounds for me more naturally.

was produced following a Croatian pattern using an adverb of manner answering the question *Kako zvuči* (How does it sound?), e.g. *Meni zvuči prirodno*. This type of error is particularly frequent after linking verbs and after *to be* with *it* as S, e.g.

It was calmly.

like Croatian *Bilo je mirno*. The neuter-gender adjective identical in form to the adverb leads here to the use of an adverb in English.

3. OBJECT.

a) Incorrect position of O.

a₁) O before S. This order is particularly frequent in sentences which in correct English would have to be in the passive, e.g.

And this letter I put somewhere in some book.

Instead of giving the O a prominent place in the sentence by using the passive form, the speaker following the L_m pattern gives prominence to the object by putting it first in an active Se (*I to pismo stavila sam....*). In the Croatian surface structure the subject is not expressed, but the verb ending shows its presence in deep structure. Since there is no English ending for 1st person sg., the speaker uses *I* as S of the verb *put* thus producing the ungrammatical string *This letter I put....*¹

a₂) O separated from verb. Under the influence of the relatively free word order in Croatian surface structures, our speakers often deviate from the correct English order V_t + NP, e.g.

I learnt in school three languages. like Croatian
Učio sam u školi tri jezika.

This phenomenon is particularly frequent when the Se has adverbial modifiers in it.

a₃) O before main verb. The example

He hasn't me my book given.

is not the result of interference from the L_m , but probably from some other language he has studied previously, perhaps German, as the separation of the main verb from the auxiliary suggests *Er hat mir das Buch gegeben.*²

b) O m i t t e d. Omission of the O is a phenomenon most frequently appearing with verbs which do not require a surface structure O in Croatian in the same collocation, e.g.

We had to explain to him all the situation but he didn't believe. like Croatian ... *ali on nije vjerovao.*

4. ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS. L_m interference is particularly notable in the use of adverbs and adverbial modifiers, in view of their practically complete freedom of position in the Croatian Se.

a) A d v e r b s o r a d v e r b i a l m o d i f i e r s i n i n c o r r e c t p o s i t i o n .

a₁) P l a c e e x p r e s s i o n s

We have recorded these after the S, after transitive verbs, after time adverbials, e.g.

We have there a house.
They there sale their goods.
She was three years ago here.
I learned at school German.

All these examples were produced according to the Croatian prototypes:

Imamo tamo kuću
Oni tamo prodaju svoju robu.
Bila je pred tri godine ovdje.
Učila sam u školi njemački.

a₂) T i m e e x p r e s s i o n s

Adverbs of definite and indefinite time appear in incorrect positions because of interference from Croatian, e.g.

She was cleaning yesterday her husband's suit.
 (definite time)
.... so he led us always there. (indefinite time)
I must work every day very hard. (adverbial expression of time)

Produced according to the Croatian:

Čistila je jučer mužovo odijelo.
... tako nas je vodio uvijek tamo.
Moram raditi svaki dan veoma mnogo.

a₃) Other pre-verbal adverbs. Besides indefinite time adverbs, many other pre-verbal adverbs are used in an incorrect position instead of preceding the verb, e.g.

I want to study really medicine, too.

according to Croatian

*(Ja) Želim studirati doista medicinu.*³

a₄) Manner expressions. We have recorded manner adverbs used before the O and before intransitive verbs, e.g.

It's quite difficult to speak fluently English.
They hear their parents so to speak and they learn from them.

Produced according to the Croatian model:

Prilično je teško govoriti tečno engleski.
Čuju svoje roditelje tako govoriti, pa....

b) Omitted adverbs. Particularly frequent is the omission of an adverb of place after a verb of motion, e.g.

She went with her dog Rex.

Speakers often use *go* to cover a wide semantic field, not only *ići* but also *poći* (start out), *šetati* (stroll), *hodati* (walk). Since a place adverb is not obligatory with these Croatian verbs, the speaker leaves it out in English as well.

(Šetala/pošla/hodala je sa svojim psom Rexom.)

II. SUBSIDIARY SENTENCE ELEMENTS

This group includes errors among the main elements of the sentence, i.e. deviations from the correct syntactic relations between main elements.

1. INCORRECT ORDER OF MODIFIERS⁴

a₁) Errors in placement of regular determiners.

(i) Incorrect position of definite and indefinite article.

Examples were found with the article next to the noun even when another modifier is present, e.g.

There's many people during summer the holidays.

They were afraid of falling the chimneys.

Since the article is something new for the learner, something non-existent in his mother tongue, he reacts only to the stimulus "different from mother tongue". This "different" is manifest as the use of the article with the noun, so that for him article - noun become an indivisible unit.

(ii) Use of possessives and genitive in incorrect position.

L₁ interference leads to wrong use of possessives when the noun is determined by a demonstrative, e.g. *I don't believe that I will ever reach this my wish*, like Croatian *ova moja želja*.

Interference from Croatian leads to the use of the genitive in an incorrect position when the optional pre-article *all* is present, e.g.

Nancy's all vitals were burning. like Croatian *Nensini svi organi ...*

(iii) Incorrect position of *all*.

The Croatian equivalent of the pre-article *all* (*sav, svi, čitav*) does not have such strict constraints on its position with respect to the noun, and so *all* in the Croatian-speaking area is found used after the possessive adjective, e.g. *His all vitals were hurt.* like Croatian *Njegovi svi organi ...*

a₂) Incorrect position of post-determiners. We find wrongly placed numerals, e.g. *We spent there very nice two week.* like Croatian ... *vrlo lijepa dva tjedna.*

a₃) Incorrect use of pre-determiners. This appears mainly in the omission of the morpheme *of* e.g.

I have to read lot foreign literature. like Croatian *Moram čitati mnogo strane literature.*

In this example the one-member Croatian expression *mnogo* leads to the use of just one element *lot*, of the English three-member expression *a lot of*.

b) Postmodification instead of premodification. Although the position of modifiers is the same in Croatian as in English, that is, before the modified noun, we find instances of postmodification, such as *What do you usually do after your lesson of English?* like Croatian ... *nakon satova engleskog.*

In this example the adjective *engleski* is treated like the group *engleski jezik*, with the noun *jezik* (language) understood and not expressed. Since in Croatian an adjective next to a noun is declined, here being in the genitive, the speaker used the preposition *of* with the adjective *English* which led to postmodification of the noun *lesson*.

c) Incorrect ordering of descriptive adjectives. There are no strict constraints on the order of a string of Croatian adjectives, which lead to incorrect ordering of descriptive adjectives in our learner's English sentences, e.g.

It is an tourist small town on the Adriatic seaside.
like Croatian *To je turistički mali grad ...*

2. NEGATION. This subgroup treats errors in the system of negation, i.e. errors occurring in Eng-

lish negative sentences in the Croatian-speaking area. The negation system in Croatian differs from that in English so that deviations from the correct constructions are very frequent.

We have noted:

a) Omission of the auxiliaries. The L_m pattern is the cause of the error *Now I not know what will I specialization*, produced following the Croatian *ja ne znam...*

The incorrect negation in

If you want not to go to the cinema... is probably conditioned by false analogy with the negative forms of *to be* and the modal verbs.

b) Incorrect position of *not*. We have noted instances where the auxiliary is used but *not* is still wrongly placed, e.g.

That can I say not.

This sentence was probably produced under the influence of some other foreign language; or else the learner knows that the system of negation differs from that in his mother tongue and, reacting only to the stimulus "different from mother tongue" puts *not* after the main verb.

If the negation refers to a noun, adjective, or infinitive, *not* is used before the negated word. Since, in Croatian *ne* and *nije* are not under such strict constraints, *not* is sometimes found in an incorrect position, e.g.

I had a book and wrote from the first moment but Russian not.

produced according to the possible Croatian construction ... *ali ruski ne*.

c) Double negation. This occurs under the influence of the Croatian pattern in which two or more negative words can be introduced into a string.

Thus the examples

*I don't know nothing.
You don't eat nothing.*

are produced according to the Croatian *Ja ništa ne znam. Ti ništa ne jedeš.*

3. NUMBER AGREEMENT. Agreement in number is one of the grammatical relations between parts of the sentence. Although the same category exists in Croatian, errors in agreement are frequent. We have noted the following:

a) Incorrect number agreement of S and P. The most frequent errors are 1) in agreement of the verb in the phrase *there is/are* with the S it introduces, and 2) in agreement of S and following verb, e.g.

*There's many people during ...
It consist from two parts ...*

Both examples can only be explained by deficient knowledge of grammar.

b) Incorrect number agreement of determiner and noun. The errors recorded show that errors arise

1. with regular determiners, namely demonstratives:

I don't know in what way shall I connect these subject together.

2. with the pre-article *all*:

There came from all side of our country.

3. with post-determiners:

It were two kind of slaves.

All these errors can only be explained by deficient knowledge of grammar.

c) Incorrect contextual agreement. Incorrect number agreement very frequently arises when a noun in a Se is repeated in the form of a pronoun, e.g.

We have always learned some parts, but we, when we repeat it ...

Such an example can only be explained by deficient knowledge of grammar.

L_m interference appears in the example:

I read in Russian book and English, it is the two languages I know.

Here L_m interference affects the choice of words. In most instances Croatian *to* corresponds to *it* and not to *this/these* and an incorrect choice of words leads to incorrect contextual agreement.

4. AGENT. The agent in English appears after passive verbs and nouns of certain categories, such as literary works, and is introduced by the preposition *by*. The possibility of using the agent either before or after the object in Croatian, depending on emphasis, and the use of the preposition *od* generally translated as *from*, lead to two kinds of errors:

a) incorrect position of agent:

*Now I just read by Theodore Dreiser
"Jennie Gerhardt".*

b) incorrect preposition:

... and from Krleža I read Hrvatski bog Mars.

5. QUESTION TAGS. In English the form of question tag changes, depending on the sentence pattern it goes with. In Croatian, the same form *zar ne* is used without regard to the sentence structure.

Hence two types of errors occur: 1) those conditioned by inadequate knowledge of the rules for question tags, and 2) those conditioned by L_m interference, e.g.

1. *He wants a new dress, wants he?*

You never go to the cinema, don't you?

2. *You haven't seen it, yes? like Croatian je li?*

You are from Dalmatia, no? like Croatian colloquial ne?

III. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

This group treats only deviations from the rules for making a clause subordinate, while other er-

rors, such as position of S, O, AM, etc. are treated under the appropriate headings.

1. RELATIVE CLAUSES. Relative clauses function as modifiers of nouns. The choice of relative pronouns as clause markers depends on whether the antecedent is N_{an} or N_{in} (animate or inanimate) and on how definite it is. Errors in choice of relative pronouns are frequent. The following were noted:

a) Incorrectly chosen relative pronoun.

a₁) *What and which for that*
when the antecedent is

(i) an indefinite pronoun:

The doctors will do everything what they can do..

What was used because of the L_m interference, which, because of identification of relative *what* with interrogative *what* translated as *što* conditions an incorrect choice of relative pronoun.

(ii) a superlative:

This was the best film which I ever saw.

The cause of the error is non-observance of the rule requiring choice of the relative pronoun *that* when the antecedent is a superlative.

(iii) an ordinal number:

This was third time what I visited this island.

Besides ignorance of the rules, interference from Croatian also affected the production of this sentence. Croatian would use the pronoun *što* which speakers identify with the interrogative *što* and translate as *what*.

a₂) *Which for who*, e.g.

The slaves which live in the house.

Interference from Croatian affects this incorrect

choice of relative pronoun, since Croatian can use the same relative pronoun *koji*, -a, -e for N_{an} or N_{in} antecedents. Furthermore, since interrogative *which* is translated as *koji*, and interrogative *who* as *tko*, speakers identify the semantic field of *koji* with *which* even when the relative pronoun *who* should be used.

a₃) *this what, this that for what as in*

*If you think that for this what you learn....
He can combine this that he heard from the others.*

In both examples the error is caused by interference from Croatian, since speakers form the incorrect two-member expression *this what* or *this that* as an equivalent for the two-member *ono što* in Croatian.

a₄) *what for which as in*

She read all the Bible through what gave her strength ...

Since Croatian uses *što* after an antecedent which is a Se, Croatian speakers often use *what* because of the semantic reasons cited above.

b) Relative pronoun in incorrect case.

b₁) Objective case for nominative, as in

I always just watch and hear a teacher whom I think is a very good one.

This incorrect example was probably produced under the influence of the Croatian colloquial construction *za kojeg mislim da je dobar*, in which the relative pronoun is in the accusative; the speaker uses the same case in English sentence.

2. TIME CLAUSES. a) Incorrectly chosen tense. The possibility of using the "second future" (*futurum exactum*) in Croatian time clauses conditions the incorrect use of the future in English, as in

I shall read the book when I shall buy it. like Croatian *Ćitat ću knjigu kad je budem kupio.*

3. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES. a) *I n c o r r e c t l y*
c h o s e n t e n s e. The possibility of the "second future" in Croatian conditional clauses conditions the incorrect choice of tense in our speakers' English sentences, as in

We'll cherish her if she'll fall ill.

where the future is used in the conditional clause, or

If I'd be able to find the place in schools, I'd like...

where the conditional is used.

b) *I n c o r r e c t c h o i c e o f c o n d i t i o n a l c o n j u n c t i o n.* Under the influence of Croatian, which uses the same conjunctions with and without the negation *ne*, our speakers do not choose between *if* and *unless*, but only use *if not* as in

I don't believe that I will ever be able to speak English fluently if I will not spend...

4. INDIRECT DISCOURSE. English indirect discourse and the changes it causes in the sentence pose complex problems for Croatian speakers. L_m interference is the cause of many errors, since Croatian indirect discourse differs from English in several important ways:

a. In English the use of a particular tense in the main clause conditions the choice of tense in the subordinate clause. In Croatian there is no such dependence, and errors arise like

She said she will go to the university.

The obligatory shift of tense in the subordinate clause is not carried out; rather, the sentence is produced on the model of Croatian *Rekla je da će ići na univerzitet.*

b. In English adverbials of time and place change to forms expressing remoteness in time and space if the verb of the main clause is in the preterite or past perfect. In Croatian the adverbials are used unchanged in the subordinate clause without regard to the tense of the main clause, which leads to errors like:

She asked her how long yesterday worked.

c. In English the introductory clause is most often formed with *say* or *tell*, two verbs which differ in their use with objects. The Croatian equivalents *reći* and *kazati* do not differ as to use with objects. Hence errors in using *say* or *tell* are frequent:

He told not to sit on his bed.

He said Elsa to take rails so as not to fall.

d. In English subordinate clause, whether declarative or interrogative, keeps the order S - V - O. In Croatian surface structures such as a sequence is not generally obligatory; in particular, not in indirect discourse, which leads to frequent errors in interrogative clauses in indirect discourse. We have noted the following:

(i) Inversion of the auxiliary *do*, e.g.

He asked what did he think about it.

The speaker keeps *do* in the same position in indirect discourse as in direct quotations.

(ii) Inversion of modals and *to be*, e.g.

I don't know how can I say this in English.

Elsa asked Mrs. Young how old is the house.

Besides those cited, interference from Croatian is the cause of further errors:

1) wrong word order after the conjunction *that*, e.g.

He said that existed a danger of... like Croatian
Rekao je da postoji opasnost...

2) omission of the subject in subordinate declarative and interrogative clauses, e.g.

She asked her how long yesterday worked. like Croatian
*Pitala ju je kako je dugo jučer radila.*⁵

3) omission of the conjunctions *if, whether as*

So today I don't know did I lost the letter. like Croatian
... ne znam jesam li izgubila pismo.

In Croatian in such instances there is inversion with the interrogative morpheme *li* but no conjunction between main and subordinate clauses, and speakers follow the same pattern in producing English sentences.

IV. COMPOUND SENTENCES

This group treats only the manner of conjoining clauses into compound sentences, while all other errors in sentence structure are treated under the appropriate headings.

This group of errors shows superfluous use of conjunctions, conditioned either by L_m interference or by the learner's personal style (he would use superfluous conjunctions in Croatian as well).

Did you learn drive before when we go in England?

In this example the speaker, following the two-membered Croatian *prije nego*, uses superfluous *when* after *before*. Cases are recorded of superfluous *and* before present participles and infinitives, e.g.

I look at him and try to see me instead of him there and doing something like that.

In this example the speaker, following the Croa-

tian *zamišljam sebe kako radim...* incorrectly inserts *and* before the participle *doing* so as to keep the same number of elements as in the mother tongue construction.

Nastojim vidjeti sebe umjesto njega tamo kako radim..

*I try to see me instead him there and doing...
of*

In the example:

And he led us always there and to show us all the most important ...

the speaker uses a superfluous *and* before the infinitive *to show*, probably because in Croatian he would use a purpose clause with *da* (*that*), so that he inserts *and* in the position where the conjunction of purpose *da* would be.

V. ERRORS IN THE STRUCTURE OF PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

In this group we put errors in the structure of prepositional phrases in the sense of the omission of elements or the additions of superfluous ones.

The causes of such errors are two in number:

a) a corresponding phrase does not exist in the target language, b) one exists but has a different structure. Both causes lead to L_m interference, but there are also errors caused by false analogies. We have recorded the following errors in the structure of prepositional phrases:

a) Omission of prepositions
after certain verbs:

He has looked all the fuses. like Croatian *gledati nešto*.
We explain them that it was wrong. like *tumačiti nekome*.

The example *I have been Germany.* shows the "transition phase" when the learner is giving up his mother tongue system, but has not mastered the

target-language system. In this phase he reacts to the stimulus "different from mother tongue" and produces ungrammatical sentences, leaving out elements which he is not sure are right.

b) Superfluous prepositions.
These may be caused

(i) by interference from Croatian, e.g.

Do they direct with the traffic? like colloquial Croatian *upravljati s prometom*.

(ii) by false analogy, e.g.

Yes, I have there one uncle and of my aunt son...

Here the rule for using *of* to make the possessive of inanimate nouns has been extended to an animate.

c) Use of the wrong pronouns caused by interference from Croatian, e.g.

On this way, like *na taj način*

They waited on us. like colloquial Croatian *čekali su na nas*

pay attention on like *obratiti pažnju na*.

VI. SUGGESTED SYSTEM FOR CORRECTING AND ELIMINATING SYNTACTIC ERRORS.

To avoid or correct the syntactic errors which we have recorded in the speech of learners of English in the Croatian-speaking area, intensive drill is needed on the correct constructions, since this is the only way to achieve automatic production of grammatical sentences.

One of the recognized methods for intensive drilling of correct constructions is the substitution tables introduced by H.E. Palmer. They are so named because each word in the sentence pattern can be replaced by another from the same column, and combined with any element from the other columns. In this way a large number of sentences with the desired pattern can be pro-

duced. Here is a sample table for the sentence pattern with four basic elements, S - V - IO - O.

S	V	IO	O
<i>The king</i>	<i>gave</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>his medal</i>
<i>He</i>	<i>showed</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nothing</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>offered</i>	<i>the old man</i>	<i>a gold ring</i>
<i>The command- ing officer</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>the postman</i>	<i>a letter of thanks</i>
<i>The general</i>	<i>refused</i>	<i>my brother</i>	<i>a robe of office</i>
	<i>promised</i>		

This table gives a total of 750 sentences of the same construction.

F.G. French in his book "English in Tables"⁶ takes 5 basic sentence patterns as a basic for forming substitution tables:

- 1) S - V two main elements
- 2) S - V - O 3 main elements
- 3) S - V -^{SC} 3 main elements
- 4) S - V - IO - O 4 main elements
- 5) S - V - O - ^{OC} 4 main elements

(^{SC} = subject complement, ^{OC} = object complement)

Learners, as they work with tables, will recognize these patterns in every sentence construction, whether in simple or complex sentences; other grammatical phenomena can be treated as well (tenses, subject-predicate agreement, noun modifiers, etc.) as long as the table is clear and just one structure is being mastered or corrected.

Work with substitution tables can be quite varied: from simply reading off all possible combinations to memorizing the table, which allows learners to compete in giving the largest number of sentences in a given time; or one can give the first element of a sentence, another

continues, etc., and for written work new elements may be added to the various columns, as long as every combination will produce a meaningful sentence.

It is clear from the above that work with substitution tables is very helpful in drilling sentence constructions, since the learner has no possibility of using an incorrect construction, and frequent repetition of the same pattern forms habits leading to automatic production of grammatical sentences. This method is equally successful in forming correct habits and in correcting wrong ones, particularly in cases of L_m interference, and can be recommended as one worthwhile mode of work in English teaching.

In view of the types of syntactic errors established in our study, which mainly reduce to the construction of the basic sentence pattern⁷, we propose the following sequence:

The starting point in English teaching should be the basic sentence patterns. If we consider that it is easiest to acquire structures identical in the L_m and L_t , then sentences with *to be* are the most advantageous first unit

(S - *to be* - $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Adj} \\ \text{Loc} \\ \text{Nom} \end{Bmatrix}$). Of the choices for Pred

position, Adj and Loc are the easiest for our speakers, since identical constructions exist in Croatian. The third possibility, with Nom as Pred, would be taken up later, because of the indefinite article which appears before the noun in this position. Croatian has the noun without article here. This similarity with a minimal difference is an area where L_m interference can lead to syntactically incorrect sentences. Hence we consider that such units as this could better be taken up at a somewhat later phase of English learning, of course bringing out the similarity and difference in construction between the two languages.

The sentence construction $S - V_i$ with an optional adverb is not a difficult unit in the Croatian-speaking area, so that some other grammatical phenomena can be worked on within the same pattern, such as tenses and correct position of adverbs.

A more difficult unit is sentences with V_t , especially when there are both a direct and an indirect object. In view of its highly developed inflection, Croatian has a freer word order in this type of sentence, so that a great deal of intensive practice is needed along with the explanation of the proper word order in order to avoid L_m interference and acquire the correct sentence pattern. First the simpler pattern $S-V_t-O-(Adv)$ should be worked on, and then $S-V_t-IO-O-(Adv)$. The possibility of making the IO into the object of a preposition should be taken up later, since this construction differs from the L_m pattern in having the preposition.

The unit which is hardest to acquire because of interference from Croatian, and should therefore be introduced later, is sentences with linking verbs.⁸ Of the class of linking verbs, only *become*, *stay* and *remain* are used in Croatian in the same construction, that is, only these verbs (*postati*, *ostati*) take an adjective as complement. All the others appear with adverbs in Croatian, and so L_m interference leads to the production of ungrammatical sentences with Adv after V_{cop} . We therefore feel that this unit can best be handled by introducing the verbs *become*, *stay* and *remain* first, because of their identical use in Croatian. In this way the pattern with Adj in third position will be acquired, and according to this pattern the habit can be formed of using Adj after the other verbs as well, like *feel*, *smell*, *appear*, *look*, *seem* etc.

Within the patterns:

- 1) $S - to\ be - \begin{Bmatrix} Adj \\ Loc \\ Nom \end{Bmatrix}$

- 2) S - V_i
- 3) S - V_t - O
- 4) S - V_t - IO - O
- 5) S - V_{cop} - Adj

other grammatical phenomena can be treated, such as verb tenses, subject-predicate number agreement, use of modifiers, etc.

After thorough treatment of these basic patterns, there follows the joining of clauses into compound sentences, while subordinate clauses can also be treated together with the basic patterns, so that the learners can recognize the basic pattern in every sentence construction and thus observe and grasp the rigorous word order of the English sentence.

This proposed grammatical sequence should be considered as only a framework which the textbook writer could use in working out a detailed gradation of the material.

N o t e s

1. The order O-S-V is possible in English surface structures, but represents a deviation from the unmarked grammatical order, and can be considered emphatic. In view of the special prosodic features involved, and the constraints imposed on such instances by the grammar of the language, we consider such an order as outside the scope of normative grammar. See: H.W. Kirkwood, "Aspects of Word Order and its Communicative Function in English and German", *Journal of Linguistics* 5, 1969, 85-107.
2. The example was an answer to the question *Has he given you your book?* and no specially marked sentence with the V coming at the end would be expected in this case.
3. In Serbo-Croatian it is possible for the adverb *doista* to appear as the theme (comment) at the end of the sentence under logical accent, but its position is

not strictly determined: it may stand before or after the object, so that the speaker carries this possibility over into the foreign language.

4. The terminology connected with modifiers and their classification follows O. Thomas, *Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English*, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966, 79-87.
5. The type of error in a) and b) are treated in more detail in Group I, 1a, 1c.
6. F.G. French, *English in Tables*, O.U.P. 1967.
7. The four kernel sentences of O. Thomas, *Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English*, p. 35; French's five basic sentence patterns, F.G. French, *English in Tables*, p. 2.
8. See O. Thomas, *Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English*, 123-125

Mirjana Vilke

TEACHING PROBLEMS IN PRESENTING RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Based on the report "Relative Pronouns in English
and Serbo-Croatian" by Dora Maček

1. The relationship between the relative pronouns in E and SC is type 5 of the Nemser-Ivir table¹ "in which the structures in LT and LS partially overlap formally and semantically."

The aim of this paper is to organize the category of E relative pronouns so that the positive transfer from SC to E relative pronouns is utilized in teaching techniques, while the prevention of negative transfer is taken of by special drills and exercises. An attempt is made to grade the materials carefully so that the student advances slowly from materials thoroughly learned to more complicated material involving more complex choices.

1.1. Many quite fluent speakers of E use *which* for human antecedents throughout their lives (negative transfer of *koji*) not even being conscious of the mistake. SC learners have other difficulties with E relative pronouns. They use e.g. *what* with pronominal antecedents - *everything what you know* - owing to negative transfer from *sve što znate*.

To avoid these and other difficulties arising from interference, teaching strategy is planned in the light of the results of contrastive studies of the two languages.

1.2. The E relative pronouns are divided into five teaching stages². The following techniques are recommended: The approach best suited to the subject at the beginning stages would be one avoiding interference from the SL. When the

learner's command of the TL structures is such that he is capable of abstract thinking about them, the more complicated usages should be introduced.

1.3. In the first two stages of learning, relative pronouns should be kept strictly apart. Each should be treated separately, in connection with the context to which it naturally belongs. No generalizations or abstractions of any kind are necessary. The first stage of teaching relative pronouns is made by no means the first stage of teaching English. Due to their comparatively low frequency in everyday speech, and because they become necessary only when the learner has reached the stage of using complex sentences, the relative pronouns cannot be introduced into the syllabus before the learner is in command of approximately 500-800 words, can handle basic everyday structures, and has an idea of E sentence word-order, whatever this may mean in terms of time elapsed from the beginning of the course. By the time the relative pronouns are introduced, the learner will be able to use the interrogatives *who* and *which* and the demonstrative *that*. So he will meet the familiar form in a new function - not necessarily an advantageous circumstance.

A. S T A G E 1

2. *Who*. In the case of *who* the learner is not likely to have any special difficulties, as long as he doesn't connect its most frequent translation equivalent *koji* with non-human antecedents. To avoid this, very simple exercises based on patterns and vocabulary familiar to the learner should be given.

For example:

Complete the following sentence on the model of

the first:

My brother is a boy who likes to play football.
My sister is a girl who often
A blind man is a man who can't
I have a friend who is good at
A teacher is a man or woman who
Parents are people look after their children.
A hotel keeper is a man runs a hotel.
A nurse is a woman
A centre-forward is a player
Florence Nightingale was a famous woman

It is hardly necessary to mention that before-being asked to do such exercises, the student should hear the pattern in question several times in authentic stretches of English speech, that is in dialogues, or in reading passages. At this stage the reader assimilates the pattern with *who* as a whole; no grammatical explanations are needed. The important thing for the teacher to make sure of, is that the learner does not connect *who* with non-human antecedents.

2.1. *Which*. In the first stage of learning *which* the student should be taught its most frequent use: *which* for non-human antecedents. He should be reminded of *who*, which has a parallel function in the case of human antecedents. Although the difference between the two should be strongly stressed over and over again, no comparative exercises are recommended at this stage. The student will be ready for them only after he is able to automatically respond and use either of them in natural sequences of E speech. As mentioned already, the interference here is extremely strong, the learner tending to use *which* for all nominal antecedents, human and non-human, on account of *koji* being used in SC in either case.

The students should be given exercises of the following type:

Complete the following sentences:

This is a question which I
I bought a new suit which my mother didn't
He gave her some chocolates which
My mother works in an office which
They went to see a play which
He is the author of the book
I wrote a composition which
Lemons are fruits are very sour.
Football is a game is very difficult.

B. S T A G E 2

3. At this stage the student's responses are still imitative. He is not asked to produce anything not first modelled by the teacher. After a careful revision of the material studied in the first stage, the possessive *whose* used for both human and non-human antecedents will be introduced. Exercises of the following type could help to establish an automatic use of the items in question.

3.1. *W h o s e* (for human antecedents). Complete the following sentences on the model of the first:

This is not the woman whose singing is so beautiful.
This is not the man house was burned down.
You have seen the person opinion I wish to hear.
Have you talked to the woman children have been taken to hospital?

By means of the following substitution table, the student reproduces the pattern with the new form using different lexical content. The idea of such drill is to make him use the new form spontaneously with interest focussed on a different problem (meaning of the words).

<i>This is</i>	<i>the farmer</i>	<i>whose</i>	<i>picture is in the Medical Journal</i>
	<i>the boy</i>		<i>word can be trusted</i>
	<i>the doctor</i>		<i>novel has been published this month</i>
	<i>the woman</i>		<i>farm was badly damaged</i>
	<i>the writer</i>		<i>car was smashed in an accident</i>
	<i>the driver</i>		<i>bicycle was stolen</i>

This table can be used as a good competition game between two teams of learners.

To motivate them, it can be played against a time limit.

3.2. *Whose* (as a suppletive possessive form of *which*). Practising this usage should not take too much time because

- its frequency in E is comparatively low³
- a parallel structure (*žiji* used for non-humans) exists and is on the increase in SC⁴ so the learners will have no difficulties in using it.

Sentences similar to the following can be used for practice:

The house whose windows are open
The book whose pages are dirty
The picture whose colours are so bright.....
A river whose banks are steep

C. S T A G E 3

4. At this stage review of all the material learned in the first two stages is essential. Variations of the exercises given earlier may be presented. At this point the students are

guided to a correct interpretation of what they are trying to do, that is to say, the first grammatical generalizations are introduced. The students construct new utterances by analogy with the preceding ones. The teacher will contrast *who* and *which* and help the students to make general rules about their use.

An exercise like this can be of some help:

Insert *which* or *who* as required:

*Here is a joke I can't understand.
There is the thief stole my watch.
The artist painted the picture was Rubens.
I spoke to the man was driving the cart.
Mr. Brown knows me gave me some slides.
He will read a poem he wrote.
They gave me some cakes I didn't like very much.
For dinner we had beef was badly cooked.*

4.1. *T h a t*. At this point *that* can be introduced, both for human and non-human antecedents. Exercises and drills should be carefully graded:

Insert *that* into the blank space:

*She is the finest woman ever lived.
He is the only American has swum the Hellespont.
Any man listens to you is a fool.
The old gentleman lives across the road has got married.
The man is sitting at the desk is the secretary.*

4.2. The following substitution table will show that in restrictive clauses *who* and *that* when used with human antecedents function as synonyms:

<i>This is not</i>			<i>committed the murder</i>
<i>You have seen</i>	<i>the man</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>was there at the time</i>
<i>I have never met</i>	<i>the woman</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>is wanted by the police</i>
<i>They pointed out</i>	<i>the person</i>		<i>sold me the car</i>
<i>to me</i>			<i>gave me the bad money</i>
<i>This may be</i>			<i>stole my purse</i>

By matching each item of this substitution table with any item in the order columns, 180 sentences, all of which make sense, are possible.

4.3. Insert *that* into the blank space: (non-humans)

Where is there a shop sells picture-postcards?

The chair was broken is now mended.

The dress was spoiled by paint must be dry-cleaned.

The pencil is lying on the desk is mine.

The park is at the back of the house has a tennis-court in it.

The tree stands near the gate has lovely flowers.

4.4. The following substitution table will illustrate the fact that either *which* or *that* can be used in restrictive clauses with non-human antecedents.

<i>This is</i>	<i>the pencil</i>		<i>will interest you</i>
<i>Here is a picture of</i>	<i>the small animal</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>we found in the cave</i>
<i>She gave me</i>	<i>the object</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>you told me about</i>
<i>This looks like</i>	<i>the rat</i>		<i>we picked up</i>
	<i>something</i>		<i>the girls were looking for</i>
	<i>the one</i>		

With this substitution table 240 sentences are possible.

D. S T A G E 4

5. At this stage grammatical terms and rules will come onto the scene. Grammatical principles should be made explicit, now that the student has had some experience with the operation of the relative pronouns. Productive drills should be introduced.

5.1. *Whom*. Combinatory drill can be used here. The students are given the task of joining two sentences by using *whom*.

*He is the man. I met him. He is the man whom I met.
 He is the man. I saw him.
 They are the people. I telephoned them.
 She is the woman. I invited her.
 They are the children. I took them to the cinema.
 This is the boy. I found him in the garden.
 They are the thieves. The police caught them.*

5.2. A set of exercises to give the teacher an insight into the learner's knowledge gained so far would run as follows:

Use either *who/that, whom, whose, or which/that* in the following:

*My dog, is a black one, has run away.
 The boy book I borrowed wants me to give it back to him.
 The house you see on the right is ours.
 George, brother's name is Jack, is the son of Mr. Smith.
 That is the book in I saw the picture.
 Tell me the name of the man to you gave the money. Where is the theatre you told me about?*

5.3. At this point, introducing the \emptyset relative is recommended. As the \emptyset relative does not exist in SC, the learners will probably tend to neglect it unless they are asked to use it.

Drills similar to the following can be given:

Rearrange the following sentences on the model of the first, omitting the relative pronoun:

*You must use this pen. This is the pen you must use.
 He must read this magazine.
 You must practice this word.
 We will learn this language.
 They have repeated this sentence.
 You may use this word.*

*She can read this book.
 They must do this exercise.
 We shall do this work.
 She must use this pencil.*

5.4. Join the two sentences by means of the \emptyset relative pronoun, e.g.

She is the girl. I met her yesterday. ----- She is the girl I met yesterday.

*This is the kitten. I found it in the garden.
 That is the film. I saw it.
 These are the letters. I typed them.
 That is the bag. I found it.
 That is the window. I broke it.
 That is the bookshelf. I made it.*

5.5. The next item to be taught is the back position of the preposition with the relative pronouns *which*, *that*, the uninflected form of *who*, and the \emptyset relative. By this point the student will have met the phenomenon of back position of the preposition in colloquial language in many utterances other than relative clauses (*What are you talking about?*, *What is it under?*, etc).

Now is the moment to draw the learner's attention to this feature in connection with the relative pronouns. Without intensive practice it will be difficult for him to use this pattern, because it does not exist in his mother tongue. As this is a fairly advanced stage of learning, the students should be encouraged to make their own sentences on the basis of vocabulary and structures mastered earlier. The teacher should give examples of model sentences:

*The man you spoke to in the street is my teacher.
 I should like to see the trees you picked these apples from.
 That's the knife and fork I eat with.
 The man that you spoke to yesterday is coming to dinner.
 Here comes the girl who I am hiding from.
 The glass we are drinking out of is dirty.*

5.6. Productive, combinatory drills could be useful in practicing this item:

Join the two sentences by the \emptyset relative pronoun, e.g.

This is the tap. He turned it on. ----- This is the tap he turned on.

That is the party. He invited me to it.

That was the window. I looked through it.

That was the programme. I listened to it.

This is the chair. I sat on it.

This is the shop. He bought the book from there.

That is the letter. She typed it out.

This is the town. He drove to it.

This is the test. I spoke to you about it.

E. S T A G E 5

6. This final stage of studying relative pronouns may be stretched through a fairly long period of time and taken up gradually. In this stage the learner will actually advance from "language-like behaviour" into knowing the language.⁵ He will be expected to use the system of relative pronouns when expressing his "novel utterances"⁶.

6.1. The most effective exercise at this stage is translation. In doing translations from SC into E and vice versa, the learner will have to select a certain style. According to the requirements of the passage, he will usually have to decide between colloquial and formal language, and in doing this, he will need more subtle and complex uses of relative pronouns.

6.2. The difference between the restrictive and non-restrictive clauses will have to be dealt with and many examples given to point out the distinction.

- a) *The boy (that) you saw yesterday is coming to tea.*
- b) *My brother Dick, whom you saw yesterday, is coming to tea.*

- a) *The aunt we met at the station walked home with us.*
- b) *Aunt Monica, whom we met at the station, walked home with us.*

6.3. An exercise similar to the following could be useful:

Join the two given sentences into a non-restrictive clause: e.g.

*Her father has just returned. He has been to Paris.
 Her father, who has been to Paris, has just returned.
 Budapest is a beautiful city. It is on the Danube.
 Flies carry disease. They come mostly in the summer.
 Oxford University has many different colleges. It is one of the oldest in the world.
 Swimming makes people strong. It is a good sport.
 Whisky is the national drink of Scotland. It is very expensive.
 George Washington never told a lie. He became President of the United States.
 Tommy and Mary are very naughty children. They are playing in the garden.
 Her employer works in the next room. She dislikes him.*

6.4. The teacher will have to explain and practice the following items that have not been treated so far, on account of their infrequent use in everyday speech or special difficulties which they present.

6.4.1. *T h a t*.

- a) in elliptical constructions (*The year that the war broke out*)
- b) when the personal antecedent expresses quality of character (*Fool that I was*)

6.4.2. *W h i c h*

- a) referring to a clause (*The decision was postponed, which was exactly what he wanted*)

- b) referring to human antecedents (*He looked like a lawyer, which he was*)
- c) used attributively (*He bought the Times, which newspaper he always reads*)

6.4.3. *What*. When SC speakers of E use this pronoun, there is always a danger of negative transfer of the SC pronoun *što*. (**They all took their umbrellas what was a very good thing to do.*)

To avoid such errors, this pronoun has not been taught in the earlier stages. But at this level students are expected to understand more complicated functions of particular language items. They should be given examples of relative *what*. (*He will take what you offer him.*)

6.5. Indefinite relative pronouns *whoever, whichever, whatever*, etc., will have to be introduced when the students come across them in the text.

7. It is to be expected that SC speakers of E⁷ will use relative clauses to a much greater extent than a native E speaker, due to the interference from SC where they are used more extensively. To avoid monotony and simplicity of expression resulting from such extensive use of relative pronouns, the teacher should prepare translation exercises from SC into E, encouraging the students to select other constructions (gerunds, participles, infinitives) as alternatives to relative clauses, e.g.

- (1) *Ne mogu zamisliti da je to učinio.*
- (1E) *I can't imagine him doing this.*
- (2) *Mi svi želimo pravila po kojima bi živjeli.*
- (2E) *We all want a code to live by.*
- (3) *Problem s kojim se sad čovječanstvo suočava...*
- (3E) *The problem now facing humanity etc.*

Only a couple of translation exercises have been given here, as such exercises will depend on the vocabulary the learners have been actively using in their course.

N o t e s

1. W. Nemser, V. Ivir, "Research guide for Project Workers", YSCECP, A. Reports 1, 1970, p. 4.
2. R. Filipović, "Udio lingvistike u formiranju modernih metoda u nastavi stranih jezika" (The Role of Linguistics in the Development of Modern Language Teaching Methods), Pedagoški rad 1970, p. 379.
 Filipovic's teaching scheme consists of two degrees:
 a) the first degree represents the h a b i t - f o r m a t i o n a p p r o a c h and is conducted in three stages (1-3); b) the second degree represents the c r e a t i v e u s e of the language which can be achieved through two stages (4-5). During the first stage the ability to immitate the phonetic system of the target language and memorize structures is alert; the second stage covers the c o g n i - t i v e a p p r o a c h .
3. D. Maček, "Relative Pronouns in English and Serbo-Croatian", YSCECP, A. Reports 3, 1970, p. 110.
4. D. Maček, Ibidem, p. 123.
5. B. Spolsky, "A Psycholinguistic Critique of Programmed Foreign Language Instruction", IRAL, 4, 1966, p. 124.
6. B. Spolsky, Ibidem.
7. D. Maček, Op. cit., p. 124.

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A b k ü r z u n g e n

CSS	Contrastive Structure Series
IRAL	International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching
LL	Language Learning
PAKS	Projekt für angewandte kontrastive Sprachwissenschaft
YSCECP	The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian — English Contrastive Project